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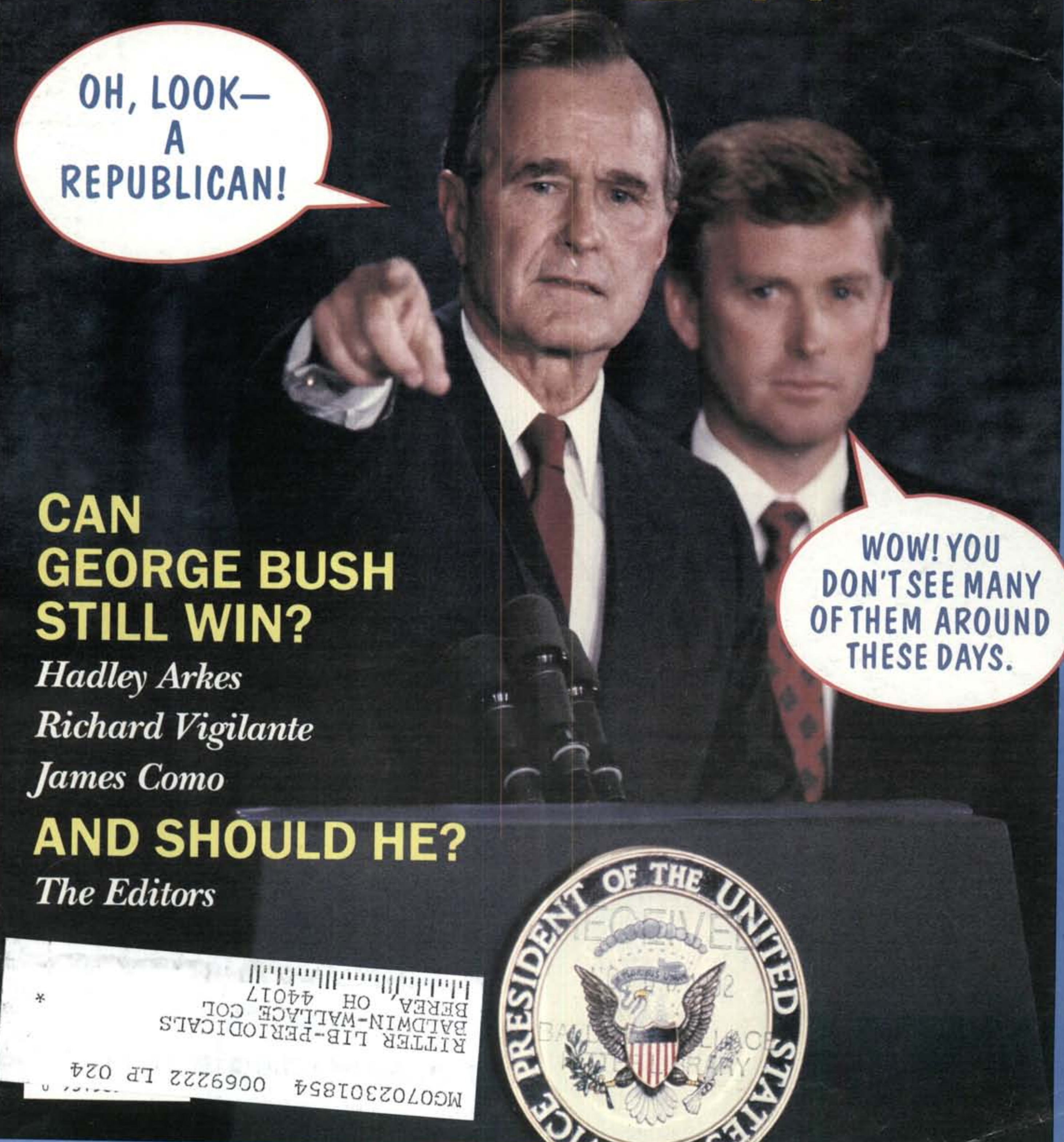
Vol. 44 No. 22

WFB ON GEORGE WILL

Consenting Adults — Clinton and the Media

NATIONAL REVIEW


OH, LOOK— A REPUBLICAN!
WOW! YOU DON'T SEE MANY OF THEM AROUND THESE DAYS.

CAN GEORGE BUSH STILL WIN?

Hadley Arkes

Richard Vigilante

James Como

AND SHOULD HE?

The Editors

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Turning Student Athletes Into Teachers

In the coming years, America's public school system must prepare to educate a new wave of students – the children of the baby boom generation. The U.S. Department of Education projects that from now until 2001, the demand for hiring public school teachers will increase by 18 percent. The question now arises: Who will teach the baby boomers' children?

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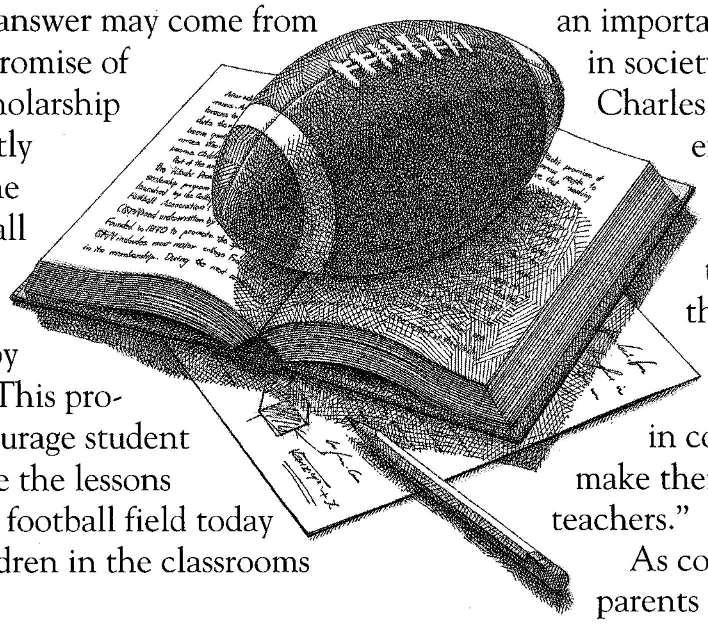

During the next academic year, the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" program will award $335,000 in scholarships at the 67 CFA member universities. Eligible students include outstanding senior or graduate students who have participated in the college football program as players, trainers, or managers. Each recipient will use his or her $5,000 grant to continue postgraduate studies in education or to meet certification requirements for pursuing a teaching career.

The CFA hopes that the "Hitachi Promise of Tomorrow" program will encourage more young people to enter the teaching profession. "Teaching plays an important but undervalued role in society today," explains Charles M. Neinas, the CFA's executive director. "We'd like to encourage students to pursue this field, and think that the leadership, discipline, hard work and team spirit that students gain in college football will help make them effective classroom teachers."

As college football fans and parents of school-age children, we at Hitachi are proud to be part of the scholarship program. We believe that it will go a long way toward instilling pride in education and the profession of teaching.

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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The Audit Bureau

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LETTERS

Women in Combat Boots

All that's missing from David Horowitz's argument against the feminization of the military is personal perspective ["The Feminist Assault on the Military," Oct. 5]. Allow me.

When I was in Special Forces school trying to earn a green beret the old-fashioned way, the first woman to win one did it the new way. She got a judge to rule that the school discriminated against her on the basis of gender. Perhaps it did. But the only gender discrimination I ever saw was heavily in favor of women. At airborne school, for example, the Army did everything it could to make things easier for women trying to win their silver wings. Pregnancy was absolutely epidemic among female GIs. I remember one woman telling her commanding officer that she couldn't photocopy a few sheets of paper "because of the baby." He didn't even think to argue with her. Choose your own metaphor—the chain is only as strong as its weakest link; the convoy is only as fast as its slowest ship—but a unit with fifty men and five women would be less capable of doing its job than one with just fifty men.

Ironically, the same feminists who demand that there be no double standard in the civilian workplace demand that there be one in the military. Only by making sacrifices to female physiological disadvantages has our military been able to become so heavily feminized—the most heavily feminized in the world today. In such lopsided conflicts as the Gulf War, this may be of little import. But correct military planning emphasizes worst-case scenarios. Are we going to sacrifice our defense and allow female soldiers a better than equal chance to die for their country because feminists have decided to change the laws of physiology with the law of the land?

Michael Fumento
Los Angeles, Calif.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Horowitz chose to use the "facts" of a Heritage Foundation study to affirm his position. My daughter entered West Point this summer. Let me assure you that the plebes, both female and male, still train in combat boots, still run with heavy weapons, and still march with full backpacks, contrary to what Mr. Horowitz reported.

As for his assertion that resentment on the part of male cadets is high, I would suggest that he visit West Point and decide for himself. I have observed otherwise. And although I cannot confirm or deny his assertion that 50 per cent of the women cadets reported being "sexually" harassed, it would surprise me greatly. All plebes are harassed—it is an accepted part of the West Point experience. But from my conversations with both female and male plebes, it is dispensed without regard to gender.

Daniel L. Flint
Chappaqua, N.Y.

Mr. Flint's letter is true in particulars, but the general impression it leaves is false. Thus, until 1976, when women were first admitted, cadets at West Point did their training exercises in combat boots. Two years later the practice was terminated. It is true that women and men now perform some routines together in combat boots, but neither wears them during regular exercises any more. The official explanation is that the wearing of combat boots during exercises caused injuries to both *women and men and that the revised practice has nothing to do with the change to a sexually integrated academy. Readers can decide for themselves whether they believe this.*

The double standards for women and men at the academy are now pervasive, and no reputable military authority will deny this fact. The double standard is enshrined in the official USMA "Doctrine of Comparable Training," which accepts "the use where necessary of comparable, rather than identical, standards in some aspects of physical education and military training." As to attitudes in the ranks, I did my own interviews with enlisted men and women. I stand by what I reported. —DH

Defending Advocates

John O'Sullivan recently attacked the media's bigoted attitude toward Republicans ["From the Editor," Sept. 14]. Accepting his definition of bigotry, "namely, hostility toward some group unsupported by, or contrary to, the evidence," isn't the Republicans' continual attorney bashing blatantly bigotry? All evidence—never mind what the Council on Competitiveness says—does not support continued calls for tort reform. The Rand Institute for Civil Justice, hardly a left-wing lackey, published a study in 1991 that reached conclusions inconsistent with the unmitigated hammering we attorneys receive from the Bush–Quayle ticket.

The Republican Administration says that trial lawyers cost society $300 billion. Rand concluded it is $150 billion, which accounts for every possible cost to the system. It adds that the majority of litigation costs are incurred in divorce rather than tort cases.

Direct and indirect costs from nonfatal accidents impose a substantial burden on the economy each year, about $175.9 billion, or about 4 per cent of the GNP. Of this amount, earnings loss accounts for 44 per cent. Punitive damages and pain and suffering damages are negligible.

The Rand study concluded, "In this respect, Americans' behavior does not accord with the more extreme characterizations of litigiousness that have been put forward by some."

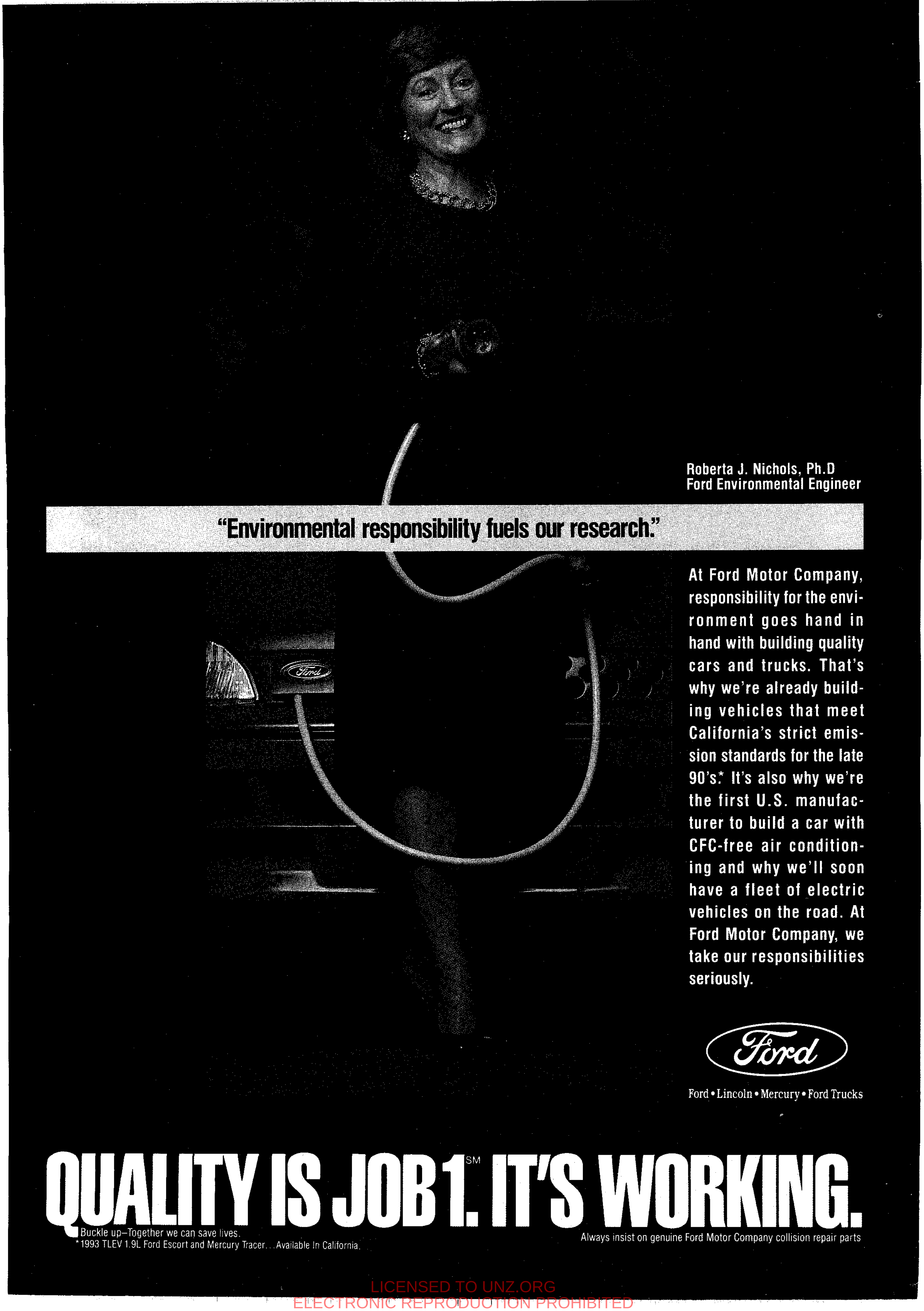
Michael Rizik
Flint, Mich.

Setting the Record Straight

As much as Peter Samuel would like to credit President Reagan for "launching" the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program (NAPAP) ["Barbarians Within," Aug. 31], I am afraid that such credit is not due. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) introduced the legislation to commission the $500-million study. The preliminary report was issued in 1987, and the "final" draft appeared in 1990. Neither of NAPAP's reports received more than passing notice from Congress, and the Environmental Protection Agency has never been receptive to its findings.

Moreover, the "green scare game" that Samuel describes prevented the Reagan Administration from defending NAPAP's controversial preliminary report. During the Bush Administration, this trend has continued. Scientists, such as the distinguished soil scientist Ed Krug, who have dared to challenge the conventional green wisdom on acid rain have been blacklisted by the EPA. NAPAP or no, the environmental establishment has still pushed ahead on acid rain.

Jonathan H. Adler
Washington, D.C.



Roberta J. Nichols, Ph.D
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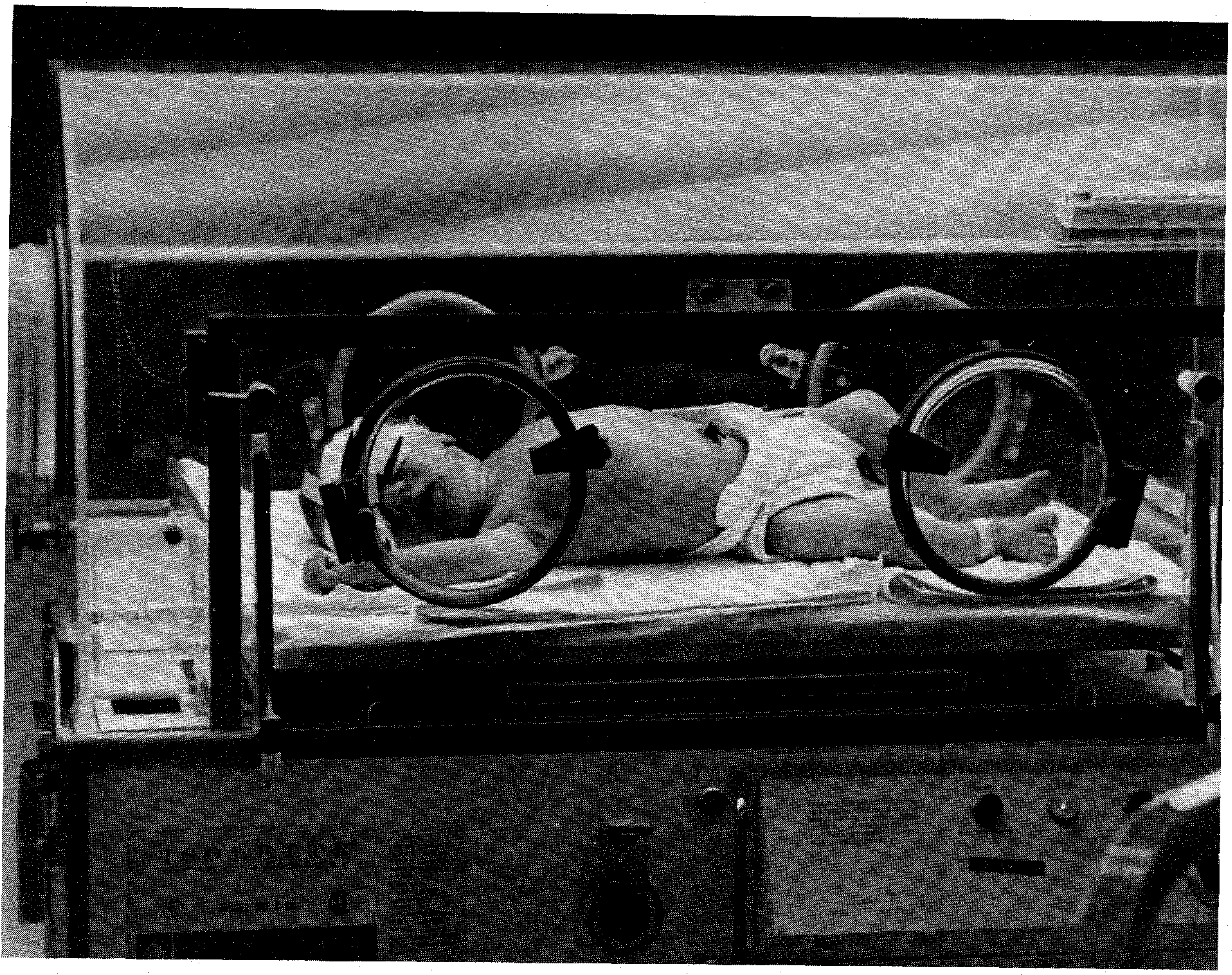

For around $70,000, her life could be saved.
For around $700, she'd never have been in danger.

Her parents' health care plan didn't cover the few hundred dollars they needed for prenatal care.

Ironically, the treatment she needed as a result of her low birthweight was covered in full.

In fact, many medical plans don't pay for the checkups, tests, and other measures that would help participants stay healthy. They only provide benefits once a participant has become sick.

And in financial and emotional terms, the pound of cure is often far more costly than the ounce of prevention. That's why, at The Prudential, we strongly support the wider use of managed care programs that put an increased emphasis on preventive medicine.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Call Me Cassandra

■ Like, I suspect, most of NATIONAL REVIEW's readers, I am hoping to be astonished on election night. But I place little trust in the theory that the American voter will imitate the British and suddenly find he cannot pull the lever for the Left.

There are at least three crucial differences between George Bush's and John Major's prospects which make such a comparison seem fanciful.

First, John Major had the Tory tabloids waging a fiercely brilliant campaign on his behalf. Since the Tory Party's own campaign was stillborn, the tabloids were vital. But there is no popular right-wing press on the British model in the U.S.; and the respectable media are waging a heavily liberal battle on Bill Clinton's behalf.

Second, Major and the Tories had not thrown away the tax issue. They played it to such good effect that one Labour voter was heard to say that although he would vote for his party, he hoped the Tories would win.

Above all, the Tories ensured that the Eighties were seen in Britain as a period of great economic advance for most people, and not as a "Decade of Greed." Mr. Bush, by failing to burnish the historical record of Reaganomics (and I am putting that kindly), now finds himself a defendant in the case of *The U.S.* v. *The Reagan–Bush Debacle*. And the polls suggest that people want a kinder, gentler America.

I will be delighted if, for once, I have to listen to the words "I told you so" instead of having to say them.

■ Still, even though there are not a great many reasons for feeling politically cheerful, the newspapers give me occasional cause for merriment.

I never imagined, for instance, that anyone could be snubbed by a congressman. So it is yet another mark of President Bush's low fortunes that he was recently snubbed by almost all the 166 House Republicans on the same day. He had invited them to a photo opportunity at the White House, and only about 20 turned up.

I am reminded of the plight of the drunken man in the comic song. Coming home one night, he falls asleep in the gutter, where he is joined by a runaway pig. They lie there snoring, as the song retails, until:

A lady passing by was heard to say:
"You can tell a man who boozes
By the company he chooses."
And the pig got up and slowly
walked away.

Comic songs are, indeed, fertile sources of political comparisons. One British music-hall number about a pantomime horse strikes a poignant note:

Don't tell my mother I'm half of a
horse
In a panto.
Never let her know that I'm a sham.
And if she learns in due course
That I'm half of a horse
In a panto.
Please don't tell her which half I am.

The beauty of that particular song is that it can be applied to virtually any politician at some time or another. But it seems especially right for Ross Perot and Al Gore at the moment.

■ On the subject of snubs, the late T. E. ("Peter") Utley, who was the greatest Tory journalist of his generation in Britain, suffered a most agreeable one. Peter, who was blind, was in Dublin's Arts Club on the evening of a day on which he had published an especially biting piece of Unionist propaganda in the London *Daily Telegraph*. His wife told him that a man they knew slightly was pacing up and down a few feet away, stopping every so often to glare in their direction.

This continued for some time until, out of patience, the man approached and said sharply: "Utley, I read your article today. It was a disgrace. And I want you to know that I'm cutting you entirely."

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

FOR THE RECORD

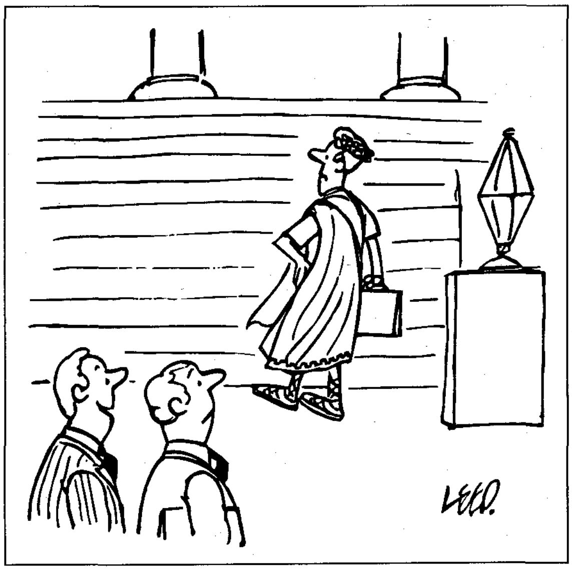
■ As the campaign swings into its final two weeks, **George Bush**'s team hopes for a shot in the arm from the whistle-stop trip through South Carolina and Georgia, while **Bill Clinton** plans to end his barnstorming in the Midwest. . . . **Ross Perot** wild card still looks, as predicted initially, most troublesome in Texas and Florida; **Evans & Novak** report that in Miami Bush is in trouble even among Cubans, an important part of **Reagan** coalition. . . . Things looking up for Bush in Michigan and Wisconsin, thanks largely to Govs. **John Engler** and **Tommy Thompson**. . . . Among Clintonians seeing a future for themselves, *Arkansas Democrat Gazette* cites Admiral **William Crowe**—whom it describes as "hired gun" covering for Clinton draft evasion—thinking of himself as Defense Secretary.

■ Senate races to watch: In New York, fairly conservative GOP incumbent **Alfonse D'Amato** and standard liberal Dem **Robert Abrams** are neck and neck in polls; Abrams is way ahead in mudslinging. D'Amato had accused Abrams of not, as N.Y. Attorney General, being rigorous in refusing contributions from people with business pending before his office. Abrams in turn called D'Amato a "fascist." (Abrams apologized to the public, but not to D'Amato.) **Gloria Steinem** upped the ante by saying D'Amato had "exactly the same" position on abortion as "the National Socialists in Germany." **Rudolph Giuliani**, once expected to challenge D'Amato in primary, has been campaigning for him. . . . Wisconsin's conservative GOP incumbent **Robert Kasten** is coming back against humorous (and laughable) left-wing challenger **Russ Feingold**. . . . Also gaining: true-blue Reaganite **Bruce Herschensohn** against left-wing **Barbara Boxer** in California; term-limiting conservative **Terry Considine** against moderate Democrat **Ben Nighthorse Campbell** in Colorado; waffling GOPer **Rich Williamson** against "Mamagate"-stained **Carol Moseley Braun** in Illinois. . . . In Arizona, conservative incumbent **John McCain**, despite being a minor member of **Keating** Five, expected to do well against "community activist" **Claire Sargent**. . . . In other Year of the Woman contests, **Lynn Yeakel** is slipping against incumbent **Arlen Specter** in Pennsylvania; liberal novice **Patty Murray** has lost initial steam against moderate Republican **Rod Chandler** in Washington. Only **Dianne Feinstein** looks a shoo-in, against moderate Republican **John Seymour** in California. . . . In North Carolina, **Lauch Faircloth**—former Democrat who support Jesse Helms in 1984—stands a good chance of beating liberal incumbent Democrat **Terry Sanford**.

■ In House races, possible upset in Illinois's 20th CD, where conservative West Point grad **John Shimkus** is neck and neck with liberal Democratic incumbent **Dick Durbin**. . . . GOP's best chance of ousting member of Democratic leadership comes in California's 3rd CD, where conservative ex-State Rep. **H. L. Richardson** leads seven-term Rep. **Vic Fazio**, chairman of Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee. . . . Democatic Education and Labor Committee chairman **William Ford** faces tough challenge from conservative State Sen. **Bob Geake** in Michigan's 13th CD. . . . More trouble for Year of the Woman candidates (though not always for women candidates): **Patti Garamendi** (who bashed the critics of "Cop Killer" rapper **Ice T**) trails rancher **Richard Pombo** in California's 11th; conservative L.A. City Council member **Joan Milke Flores** leads **Jane Harman** in California's 36th; Mormon woman **Enid Greene** is leading Democratic State Sen. **Karen Shephard** in Utah's 2nd; GOP State Treasurer **Tony Meeker** has double-digit poll lead over peacenik **Elizabeth Furse** in Oregon's 1st—old seat of hard-core liberal **Les AuCoin**, who opted to challenge liberal GOP Sen. **Bob Packwood**.

■ **Jonas Savimbi**, leader of 16-year guerrilla war against Angola's Marxist government, has obtained a recount in country's first free election, forcing President **Eduardo dos Santos** into a run-off. . . . Other former Portuguese colony, Mozambique, is not quite so far along: its 16-year Communist–anti-Communist guerrilla war has been ended by ceasefire, signed by President **Joaquim Chissano** and head of freedom-fighting Renamo, **Afonso Dhlakama**, but ceasefire is precarious and election plans are vague. . . . **Boris Yeltsin** now hurting himself in world opinion by his efforts to force **Mikhail Gorbachev** to testify in investigation of illegalization of Communist Party. Face was saved by allowing Gorbachev to attend **Willy Brandt**'s funeral.

■ Storm is brewing over Smithsonian Institution's attempts, supervised by museum's boss, **Robert Adams**, to cleanse itself of political incorrectness. A hall displaying primitive human life has been shut down at behest of Tu-Wa-Moja, an Afrocentrist group led by Queen Mother **Helen Maddox**, while the museum plans to put up "dilemma labels" apologizing for exhibits that have not yet been politically corrected.



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"Senator Moresby does overdo it a bit."

A view from Washington

THE VIEW FROM WASHINGTON: GOOD SCIENCE IS EXPENSIVE

Governments in Japan and other Pacific Rim countries target their pharmaceutical and biotechnology industries for growth, but we seem to be targeting ours for destruction. The pharmaceutical industry is a jewel — one of the few industries in the U.S. with a positive balance of trade — yet short-sighted government policies are beginning to threaten the long-term health of our industry and our people.

Why? Voters tell their legislators that drug prices are too high — and they want relief. Even though prescription drugs represent less than a nickel of every dollar spent on healthcare, they make an easy target for line-item cost-cutting.

As a pharmacist, CEO of a multinational pharmaceutical company, and chairman of the Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association, I'd like to offer a larger perspective:

1) Good science is expensive.

2) Earnings from today's prescription drugs must pay for the discovery and development of new drugs and more-effective drugs with fewer side-effects.

3) Physicians must be taught about the appropriate use of new prescription drugs, and that's costly.

4) Prescription drug prices reflect value in human terms. For example, the antibiotic that cures a child's ear infection, returning the child to school and the parent to work is worth considerably more to that family and to society than the approximately $15 cost of ten day's worth of therapy with a leading, brand-name antibiotic.

Let's look at some of the costs involved in the science of drug research and development (R&D).

To discover new compounds in the lab, to screen them for biological activity and toxicity, to conduct two years of preclinical research and five to eight years of clinical studies in human beings, my own company currently employs (at one research site alone) 285 Ph.D's and M.D.'s 920 additional scientists, and 330 technicians and administrative staff, at a total annual employment cost of more than $109 million.

It costs more than $100,000 to equip a state-of-the-art research laboratory for one chemist or biochemist. An additional $40,000 is spent on equipment to provide that same scientist with essential structural information on the molecules under investigation.

A major factor affecting R&D expenses is that the easy diseases are behind us. Polio has been nearly eradicated. Antihypertensive medications have reduced the need for heart by-pass surgery, and antiulcer medicines have reduced the need for ulcer surgery. These are now generally well-treated with existing drug therapies. Diseases without effective treatments today — e.g., cancers, AIDS, and Alzheimer's — are diseases that develop slowly and are complicated to study. It takes many years and thousands of patients to evaluate new treatments for these chronic diseases; that makes biomedical research increasingly expensive.

It is private industry, not government or academia, that will pay to discover and develop future breakthrough treatments, if recent history repeats itself. Of the most-prescribed medicines patented in the U.S., 95 percent were patented by private industry, 3 percent by universities and government, and 2 percent by individual scientists. The pharmaceutical industry alone spent as much money on pharmaceutical R&D in 1991 as did the entire United States government for all medical research. If taxpayers had to pay for the R&D that companies like mine now fund, taxes would be much higher — or Americans would have to settle for fewer new drugs and far less hope of being able to conquer the serious diseases that still confront us.

What about the role of marketing in adding to drug costs?

Approximately 60 percent of my company's marketing costs support professional medical representatives who meet personally with physicians to discuss a drug's appropriate use and its economic as well as its clinical value. The average annual cost to recruit, train and support a professional medical representative: $100,000.

Approximately ten percent of our marketing budget is spent on physician and patient education, including medical symposia, and another five percent on scientifically oriented ads to support medical journals that publish peer-reviewed studies on the latest medical breakthroughs.

Product samples comprise about 10 percent of my company's marketing budget. Should they be eliminated? No. Samples allow a physician to try a new medication to see if it works for a particular patient and if the side effects are tolerable, before the patient goes to the time and expense of having a new prescription filled. And samples provide a physician a way to help needy patients.

In summary, prescription drugs could be sold for less, but not without shortchanging our generation, our children and future generations who depend on life-saving or life-enhancing results from the investments in research and physician education we make today.

Paul E Freiman

Paul E. Freiman
Chairman and CEO, Syntex
Corporation, Palo Alto, CA., and
1992 Chairman, Pharmaceutical
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THE WEEK

■ Vote for Clinton in '92, and the media will give you full credit for repudiating not only Bush, but Ronald Reagan too. A real bargain.

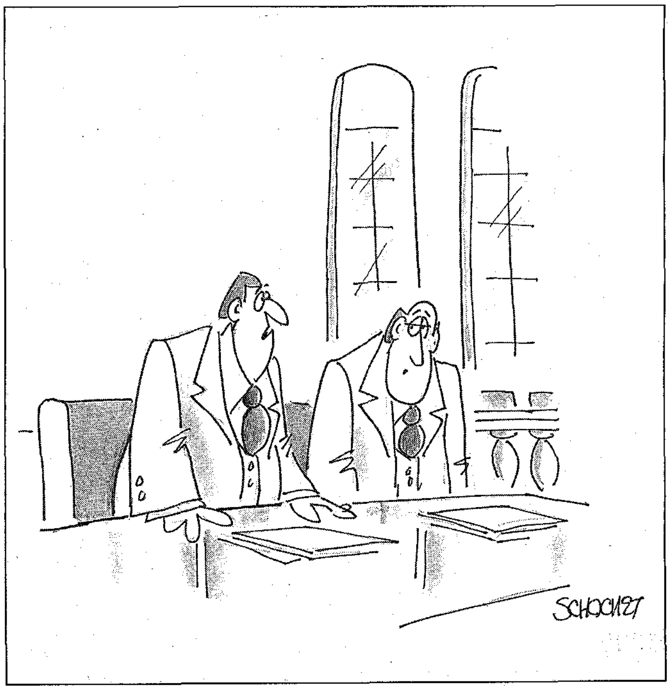
■ Why did George Bush go, in two and half years, from bestriding the narrow world like a colossus, to striving hard to catch up to a second-string Democrat like Bill Clinton? There is what may be called the official theory, propounded by Clinton and the media: 12 years of trickle-down economics and coddling the radical religious Right finally caught up with the GOP. Thomas Byrne Edsall and Ben Wattenberg, two Clinton supporters, have separately suggested an alternative view. Wattenberg: "At their Houston convention, Republicans made a tone-deaf pass at . . . social issues under the rubric of 'family values.' They were trashed, and giggled at, by the reflexively liberal media. Instead of expanding and explaining their theme, they 'backed off.' Who needs them if they won't fight that fight?" Edsall: "[Voter interviews] found large numbers of Reagan Democrats mentioning the pledge of 'no new taxes' among their reasons for returning to the Democratic Party. Fewer mentioned the Civil Rights Bill, but opposition to affirmative-action policies requiring specific goals . . . remained high, and these voters no longer felt Bush would address their grievances." In other words, Bush undermined the Reagan coalition by abandoning conservative positions, or by taking them up too late and too crudely. Mr. Bush has learned his lesson—we hope not too late.

■ Everyone knows that Richard Darman's 1990 budget deal greatly increased the deficit and the level of spending, rather than reducing them as promised. Mr. Darman recently funneled to Bob Woodward of the *Washington Post* his own private attacks ("sheer idiocy") on the President who has been so loyal to him. It is widely felt that Darman is a major obstacle to the President's re-election, and a contributor to the listlessness of the economy. So it must have come as a surprise to Jack Kemp, when he suggested to Jim Baker that both situations could be improved if the economic team were replaced, to hear that Darman might well be named Secretary of the Treasury after Bush's re-election. (We suggest you read this after you've cast your vote for George Bush.)

■ In a recent editorial, *The New Republic* devotes a full column of text to abusing Dan Quayle for raising the issue of Bill Clinton's character ("canned . . . last-resort . . . hypocritical"), then another column to saying what a "legitimate" issue this is. Since the last thing *The New Republic* would want to be seen as doing is agreeing with Quayle, it must take special pains to dump on Quayle before . . . agreeing with him. It isn't just the Vice President. For the last 12 years, the rhetorical and intellectual stance of *The New Republic* has been characterized by jeering at conservatives, while parroting them. If Clinton wins, it will be time for a new stance, which is just as well. Lefties never liked the old one, as witness their departure to *The Nation*, while even easy-going folks came to find it, well, canned, last-resort, and hypocritical.

■ Jim Boren, presidential nominee of the Apathy Party, by far the largest voter group, promises if elected not to steal for the first two years, by far the best political promise this year.

■ Liberals have always asserted that the sharp rise in working women during the 1980s was a sign of desperation—a futile attempt to maintain family income levels as the Reagan Administration squeezed the poor and middle-class. Three economists—all women, all profiled by another female economist, Sylvia Nasar, in the *New York Times*—disagree. Claudia Goldin at Harvard, Francine Blau at the University of Illinois, and June O'Neill at Baruch College in New York City have each published studies showing that working women are better educated, better trained, and better paid—absolutely



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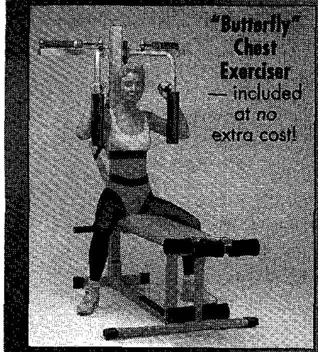

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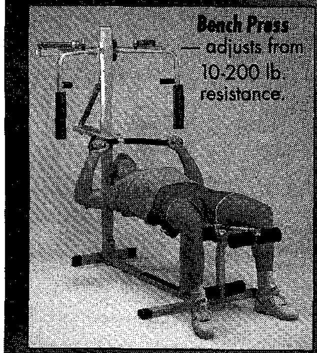

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and relative to men—than ever before. Thirty years ago about 80 per cent of educated women worked in teaching, nursing, social work, or the civil service. The figure now is less than 30 per cent. From 1960 to 1980 women were stuck earning about 60 cents for every dollar earned by men; in 1990 women earned 72 cents to the men's dollar. The alleged pauperization of women by male chauvinist Republicans was a recurring Democratic theme. Its pre-election debunking in the liberal media signals great confidence in Clinton's chances.

■ Free trade enables nations of vastly different sizes, wealth levels, and cultures to improve their living standards simultaneously. Adam Smith and David Ricardo were the first to demonstrate this. Gary Becker, winner of the 1992 Nobel Prize in economics, showed that what works for nations works for individuals also. Husbands and wives "trade" their time and income with each other so as to maximize the family welfare. A student torn between staying in school and getting a job is applying the same economic principles that guide national saving and investment decisions. Becker's genius lies in using abstract economic principles to explain intimate human activities. Diplomacy, though, was beyond his range. A few years ago he criticized Sweden, home of Nobel prizes, as a bad example for Eastern Europe to follow. "Sweden can't [grow] so long as taxes take more than half of the national income, and the country retains the many regulations and programs that discourage hard work and acquisition of skills." Is Sweden ready to learn?

■ Meanwhile, the Norwegian Nobel Peace Prize Committee—which, you will remember, honored Le Duc Tho on the eve of the military conquest of South Vietnam—seems ineducable. It gave this year's prize to Rigoberta Menchu, an Indian peasant from Guatemala. She is the author of *I, Rigoberta Menchu* (1983), a popcult hit of multiculturalism. When her parents are killed, she recounts, supposedly by the army, she decides to fight back against oppression and comes to see her cause as that of South American Indians generally. She rebels against all aspects of European-derived Hispanic culture, wears tribal garb, becomes a feminist, a socialist, and a Marxist, and by the end of the book shows up at Marxist conferences in Paris. One of her chapters is entitled "Rigoberta Renounces Marriage and Motherhood." She has not brought peace to anyone anywhere. We welcome her elevation to Nobel Peace Laureate as further confirmation that the Peace Prize is just another device by which the Intellectual Left confers celebrity upon itself.

■ Researchers in inscrutable Japan claim to have discovered that working overtime, fighting rush hour, and coping with stress are good for you, unless, of course, they kill you. Fine. Let's sell them our surplus overtime, rush hours, and stress.

■ The religious war (declared, you'll recall, by Patrick Buchanan) has been interrupted by internecine conflict. At a big tribute to Bob Dylan, Sinead O'Connor was booed off the stage by rock fans angry at her for shredding the Pope's picture on national television. She left in tears. And Madonna, whose new picture book *Sex* was promoted in mock confession booths at a New York record store, opined: "I think there's a better way to present her ideas rather than ripping up an image that means a lot to other people." That's what we like: sensitive calibrations of blasphemy.

■ Meanwhile, just in time for the election, *Penthouse* is addressing the character issue with a pictorial feature on Gennifer Flowers, accompanied by a text in which she describes Bill Clinton in full detail, says she aborted his child, and sets conditions for voting for him (she would do so only "if I believed Bill could do what he's saying he'll do"). Considering the competition, there's something wistfully appealing about Miss Flowers. Maybe it's that she does her thing without crucifixes.

■ BARBIE UPDATE: Knuckling under to feminist pressure, Mattel has stopped manufacturing a Barbie doll that declares: "Math class is tough." Quick—get one before the replacements arrive.

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AT THE OUTSET of George Bush's Presidency, NATIONAL REVIEW declared that we would be the Administration's fair-weather critics and foul-weather friends. We have kept the first pledge more often than we would have wished; we now redeem the second. As President Bush guides the frail craft of his campaign through the foulest political weather of his life, we haul down our own Jolly Roger, scuttle the *S.S. Gadfly*, and clamber aboard.

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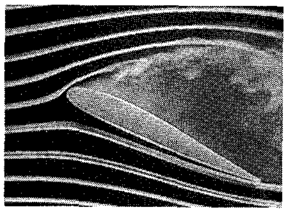

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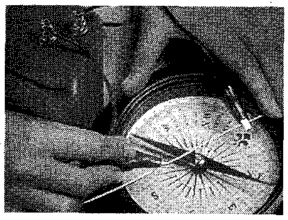

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arrival, in Churchill's memorable phrase, as "the first recorded instance of a rat swimming towards a sinking ship." No stranger to compromise himself, however, he may find the calculation behind our support familiar: namely, that moderation in the pursuit of liberty, while it may not be a virtue, is infinitely preferable to extremism in the defense of government. And there are, after all, so many rats swimming in the opposite direction.

We propose a third reason for sympathizing with the President. Mr. Bush's political failings stem in part from a quality that used to be a public virtue and still is a private one: his desire for agreement among people of good will. Most Presidents are faulted for being too political. The domestic errors of this President have arisen from his belief that politics is a blood-sport indulged in only during election years. For the intervening three years he seeks consensus with congressional Democrats and liberal opinion in order to get on with the business of governing the country. But in an Age of Ideology, which has ended in the Soviet Union but still flourishes in the Democratic Party and those American institutions under the iron heel of liberalism, that spirit of compromise has meant a series of debilitating concessions, each representing a defeat for conservative principle and a political loss for the President.

Agreeing to the budget deal was, of course, the most damaging such concession. Examine its results. It signally failed to address the problem of excessive spending: federal domestic spending, adjusted for inflation, increased 10 per cent per year under Mr. Bush—a higher figure than under Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, or Jimmy Carter, and dramatically higher than under Ronald Reagan. It raised taxes by $125 billion over a three-year period. But far from reducing the deficit as promised, it confirmed the dour predictions of supply-siders by almost doubling the deficit. If this had any effect on the economy, it had a recessionary one. And, indeed, economic growth during Mr. Bush's first term has averaged only 0.9 per cent per year, and a mild recession started in the latter half of 1990 and went on through the first quarter of 1991.

Recovery from this mild recession has itself been mild—and slow: roughly one-third the rate normally seen after recessions. To some extent, this economic sluggishness reflects factors beyond the Administration's control: an inevitable downturn in the trade cycle, exacerbated by the extraordinary length and vigor of the Reagan boom, Europe's own recession, and the transitional economic problems of moving away from a defense economy at the end of the cold war. But insofar as political decisions have produced less prosperity than we might have enjoyed, does anyone suppose that a Democratic President would have taken the opposite decisions—that he would have spent less, taxed less, and placed fewer regulations upon the private sector? The idea is absurd. Indeed, as we argue above, Mr. Bush's faults stem from his compromises with a Democratic Congress that would presumably have had much enthusiastic cooperation from a Democrat in the White House.

This judgment is only confirmed when we compare the merits of the Bush and Clinton economic "plans." Governor Clinton's tax proposals would have an immediate, but hardly favorable, economic impact. A new higher tax rate on those earning more than $200,000 (two-thirds of whom are small businessmen), a 10 per cent surtax on millionaires, and higher taxes on foreign corporations that invest in America—these are bound to lower private-sector investment and cost jobs. And for what gain? The higher tax rates will push investors into tax shelters and produce little or no new tax revenues.

But those anticipated revenues have been spent in advance on Mr. Clinton's plans for federal "investment" in infrastructure and the like. It takes notoriously long to implement such projects—the government is already sitting on billions of unspent funds already appropriated for such purposes—and there is overwhelming evidence that a dollar of private investment is far more productive than a dollar of public infrastructure. So the results would be a still higher deficit, higher taxes, and higher spending to produce an economic "stimulus" that is likely to kick in some time in the distant future at the cost of reducing the average productivity of investment in the meantime. These effects would in turn produce higher inflation and higher interest rates. In short, Mr. Clinton's plan would greatly exacerbate the damage done in the 1990 budget deal.

Mr. Bush's plan, as outlined in his Detroit Economic Club speech, is considerably more persuasive. Essentially, it amounts to creating a framework in which entrepreneurship and small business can flourish while stimulating private investment with lower capital-gains rates and a 1 per cent tax cut across the board. The tax elements in this program are too modest to have a really strong impact—over four years it is estimated to raise output by $226 billion, accounting for a 0.5 per cent rise in annual GDP growth. But the program moves in the right direction, and dramatic interventions are not the best idea at this point in the economic cycle. Positive economic trends are already under way, including a significant reduction in personal debt levels, increasing corporate profits, export growth (this month's figures are likely to prove a statistical hiccup), low inflation, and low interest rates. The sensible policy is not to obstruct these elements of recovery by ill-judged federal initiatives. Mr. Bush's proposals are far more likely to foster these positive signs than are the bureaucratic fidgetings of Mr. Clinton.

Foreign policy and national security are areas in which Mr. Bush merits re-election in absolute, not

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merely comparative, terms. To be sure, a Clinton Presidency has a high risk of being an international travesty. Mr. Clinton himself, despite his occasional efforts to espouse a centrist foreign policy (with Wilsonian overtones), reverts to being an unrepentant 1960s flower child at the first temptation. Thus, in September last year, he told George McGovern before a dinner audience: "History has borne you out, and I'm still proud to have worked for you." (If you want a one-sentence reason not to vote for Mr. Clinton, this is it.) Given such a mindset, his Administration would be a Carter replay, without the Brzezinski wing. We would see the pretense of an expanded international role promoting democracy, while massive defense cuts undermined our leverage—a kind of voodoo national-security policy. Protectionism would be rampant, as would a mushy multilateralism, environmentalism, and Third Worldism. In a world of growing instabilities, we would have U.S. troop withdrawals and a President likely to throw moralistic slogans at problems such as nuclear terrorism and European civil wars.

Let us admit our quarrels with the Bush Administration in this area. It clung to the unity of the USSR and of Yugoslavia much too long; it treated Boris Yeltsin badly and with great short-sightedness; it maintained an uncritical attitude to China for too long after Tiananmen, even when China began undercutting our Middle East position with its arms sales and nuclear deals. We thought the Desert Storm campaign ended too early; we believe that a final settlement of the score with Saddam Hussein is imperative; and we find the recent revelations of our pre–August 1990 relations with Iraq embarrassing. Yet, on balance, our criticism has been the respectful critique one mounts against a set of ideas and a group of people one takes seriously.

President Bush has already earned his place in history by a demonstration of rare diplomatic, military, and domestic political leadership in the Gulf War. Did anyone seriously think on August 2, 1990, that this country would go to war to dislodge Saddam Hussein? Amid talk of quagmires and syndromes, Mr. Bush patiently laid the political groundwork for a war effort that enjoyed overwhelming popular backing when it finally began. And that backing was achieved even though most prognoses were that it might be a prolonged and bloody war. This was statesmanship of historic dimensions.

Other successes, often under-appreciated, include the fact that a unified Germany remained solidly in the NATO integrated command—not at all a foregone conclusion in 1989–90; the rallying of the Western powers against the August 1991 coup attempt in Moscow; the liberation of Panama; an intelligent restructuring and orderly downsizing of our defense posture under Dick Cheney; the preservation of Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative; skillful peacemaking in the Middle East; and diplomacy that has achieved broadly the right results in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, Mozambique, and Cambodia. The advances toward freer trade, still fragile in NAFTA, still uncertain in the GATT Uruguay round, showed courageous defiance of the protectionists—and are further reasons for hoping that the President will be returned to finish the job.

Even if Ronald Reagan deserves more credit than George Bush for the most important event of the last four years—the West's victory in the cold war—Mr. Bush has presided over a solidly successful period in the history of American foreign policy. (Not coincidentally, it is in this area that he has proved himself genuinely to be Reagan's heir.) He has not always shown the rhetorical skill needed to give persuasive content to his vision of a new world order—in this Administration, a majority is not the best repartee; it is the only repartee—but he has helped to bring one about. And all things considered, it is a manifestly better world order.

A similar rhetorical inadequacy hobbles the President's attempts to disclose any large vision in domestic politics. His domestic program often seems a random combination of conservative measures he advocates and liberal ideas he has forced upon him. Thus Mr. Bush has campaigned for school choice. On Dan Quayle's advice, he took up the issue of the litigation explosion. At the Heritage Foundation's urging, he adopted a health-insurance plan that will not transfer costs to small employers, as Mr. Clinton's plan would, destroying companies and jobs (and thus health-insurance benefits too). Against these, however, must be set the regulatory bills that Mr. Bush has unwillingly signed.

Such contradictions are, of course, the bitter fruits of divided government. If Mr. Bush were an eloquent philosopher, he might distinguish for the voters between his concessions and his victories. But he seems to think in administrative compartments rather than philosophical categories. And his taste for consensus has consistently persuaded him to delay right action, to make a concession when he could have achieved a victory, and to celebrate a concession as if it were a victory. As a result, he can

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quite comfortably claim credit for the Americans with Disabilities Act and the Clean Air Act, while denouncing the vast increase of regulatory burdens on the U.S. economy. Ultimately, that has dispirited his supporters without appeasing his enemies; and in the current campaign it has left him bereft of any positive theme that might recapture support and forced him to strike negative postures in which he never looked comfortable.

But such rhetorical failures should not obscure his two solid and shining domestic achievements. The first is his record of judicial appointments, crowned by the nomination and the confirmation of Justice Clarence Thomas. In the opinion of Robert Bork—a good judge in every sense—Bush stood by Thomas more firmly than Ronald Reagan stood by Bork, and against even greater pressures. Bush's other fine hour has been his steadfastness on abortion. Besides his pro-life judicial appointments, Bush has vetoed every piece of legislation seeking to expand abortion's scope—a record especially remarkable in view of Bush's positions of a decade and more ago. His conversion on this issue, given that all the temptations were to switch back, has the ring of conviction, not convenience.

WHAT OF his opponent? As a domestic President, Mr. Clinton would share the President's errors, aggravate and augment them, and make distinctive new blunders of his own. He will never break a tax pledge, because he has never made one. He will simply raise taxes. And what Washington does not take for itself, it will require businesses to disgorge from their own pockets, as in the Clinton health-insurance plan. His nominees to the Supreme Court will range from Mario Cuomo to Professor Lawrence Tribe of Harvard and Lagado. He is the obedient servant of a host of busybody lobbies: civil rights, teachers' union, trial lawyer, feminist. Mr. Clinton's ideal America is an overtaxed, overregulated Nanny State—collectivism plus American know-how.

Of course, Mr. Clinton has presented himself in quite a different light: the "New Democrat" purged of liberal illusions and ready to contemplate hard-headed solutions to everything from crime to welfare. He may even believe that a Clinton Administration would turn out that way; we do not. But we cannot complain that this pitch goes beyond the bounds of conventional prevarication in politics. Within those limits, indeed, Mr. Clinton has fought a civil, principled, and decent campaign without smearing his opponents or condescending (unduly) to the voters. He deserves credit for that. He is lying more consistently and more obviously about his private life and his political past, but neither a sympathetic press nor an apathetic public seems to mind. If Americans choose his vision next Tuesday, we will have helped to pull the wool over our own eyes.

For as the campaign winds down, Mr. Bush is returning to conservative rhetoric and even to a conservative philosophy of governing. Even in his weakest moments, he had always shown an instinctive reluctance to go the whole hog on federal "solutions" to what the Democrats have defined as national "problems." As his enemies understand well enough, Mr. Bush has never been a liberal at heart. Hence their ingratitude for his occasional capitulations to them. He is likely in a second term to recall that his past concessions to the reigning notions of Liberaldom won him no rewards from the media, no indulgence from the Congress, no popularity with the general public. And that memory will reinforce what is at least a mild preference for the Right.

George Bush would not be our first choice for President. But he is a patriot, an experienced statesman, and a man of good intentions which are sometimes triumphantly realized and proclaimed. Bill Clinton is an improvement on recent Democratic candidates. But his principles have bent in whatever directions were required by the vagaries of the campaign, and in Washington would doubtless yield to the influence of a Democratic Congress, his own appointees, and the Left's special interests revived by a victory. Between such options, the choice is clear. Liberal opinion ardently deems Mr. Bush worth beating. That is enough to establish that conservatives should swallow their past discontents and deem him worth supporting. For if all else fails, he will remember that it's not always fair weather.

The Door for Reilly

IF GEORGE BUSH scrapes back into the White House for a second term, he should immediately show EPA Administrator William Reilly to the door. At a sensitive time in the presidential campaign, Reilly defended Al Gore against Marlin Fitzwater and Dan Quayle. In an interview in the *Washington Post*, Reilly commended Gore for "doing some important things" and added: "I don't think he's an environmental extremist."

Really? Consider the following:

1. Al Gore consistently portrays environmental prospects in apocalyptic terms. Ozone depletion "threatens all life on earth." Of NASA's ozone-hole scaremongering in February, he said it was "an immediate, acute, emergency threat . . . the single most

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PATRICK BUCHANAN

GOP forfeited its opportunity

TOPIC INDEX

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important issue facing this country and this earth." Never mind that the NASA scare was clearly contrived to coincide with a congressional decision on its annual budget.

And global warming is "the most dangerous [environmental threat] of all." Natch.

2. In his book, *Earth in the Balance*, Mr. Gore says that a "wrenching transformation of society" is essential. He wants new regimes of taxes—"virgin materials fees"—to force recycling, and "carbon taxes" to force a changeover to solar and other renewable (but not nuclear) energy sources. He wants to establish a governmental assessment and approval regime for all new technology. This across-the-board regulatory system would subject all American industry to the kind of delays and harassment that has handed the Japanese and Europeans leadership of the pharmaceuticals industry.

3. Gore grossly misrepresents experts and evidence. For example he repeatedly claims the support of the eminent scientist Roger Revelle (recently deceased) on the greenhouse effect and global warming, when one of Revelle's last pronouncements was to sign a scientists' letter saying: "The scientific base for a global warming is too uncertain to justify drastic action at this time." MIT climatologist Richard Lindzen has complained of being repeatedly misrepresented by Gore.

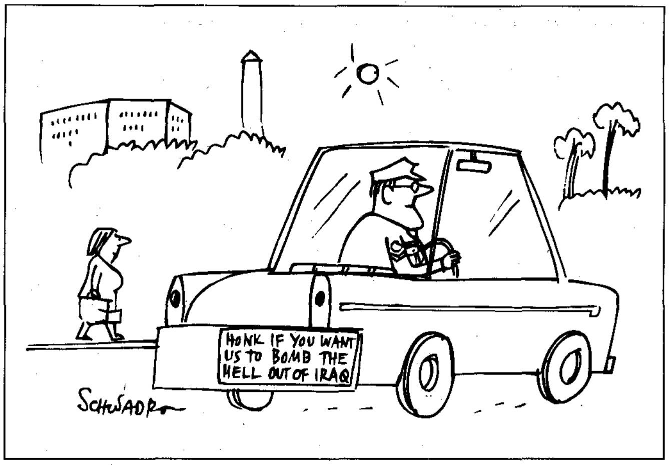
4. Gore is pro-censorship, several times urging journalists not to report non-alarming evidence because such reports "undermine the effort to build a solid base of public support for the difficult actions we must soon take."

If Mr. Bush's EPA Administrator cannot see "environmental extremism" in Al Gore, is it because he's an environmental extremist himself?

Jobs, Jobs, Jobs

THE TIME is ripe for black humor, and what better topic than the potential inhabitants of a Clinton Administration? We were particularly charmed by the candidates talked up by one D.C. newsletter, *The O'Leary / Kamber Report*.

The most marginal "nominees" receive the most fulsome praise: Susan Thomases, a possible Attorney General, "combines enormous political shrewdness [a friend of Bill] with a strong commitment to social justice [and Hillary!]"; possible Agriculture Secretary Carol Tucker Foreman is an "expert on food safety . . . and an activist with close ties to the women's and consumer [i.e., Naderite] movements"; Gerald McEntee should run the Labor Department because of his skills in "organizing workers in the fastest growing [until now, anyway] sectors of the economy—white collar, service, and health care."


HONK IF YOU WANT US TO BOMB THE HELL OUT OF IRAQ
SCHWADRON

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Of course, a President Clinton could easily turn to some folks who already have national reputations. To "send a clear message that the military's days as a bastion of sexism and sexual harassment are over," Defense Secretary Pat Schroeder; for Health and Human Services, Marian Wright Edelman, who wants national day care run by the people who handle the Post Office; and, to "bring to HUD [Housing and Urban Development] an unrivaled passion and commitment to helping the urban poor," Maxine Waters, the representative who practically called for L.A.'s rioters to keep at it.

The seemingly safest choices may be more frightening. Sam Nunn, who sought to undermine the Reagan Administration's SDI effort and then opposed the Gulf War, may want to move from the Senate to the Pentagon. Roger Altman, a veteran of Jimmy Carter's economic miracle shop, would almost certainly be the next Treasury Secretary. Warren Christopher, head of the group that helped Governor Clinton chose his electrifying running mate, has the inside track for Secretary of State.

Then there are the twofers: crashing bores who are also raving loonies. Dull but sanctimoniously environmental Senator Tim Wirth expects to run Interior or EPA. Finally, "one of the Senate's most aggressive advocates for the family farmer" and one of its "strongest advocates for unions and working people," Tom Harkin, would do his best Henry Wallace imitation at Labor or Agriculture.

Suddenly Lynn Martin doesn't look so bad.

Tradeoffs

THE MONKEY WRENCH thrown at the last minute into the Uruguay Round of GATT was from the French agriculture minister, who grumbled that French farmers would not be pushed into concessions just to help George Bush's re-election. That is probably good news for a new trade treaty: objections from the French usually mean someone is doing something right.

The world's trading nations—108 of them—are on the verge of an historic accord that would not only halt the current protectionist trend in many countries but would liberalize trade beyond anything ever negotiated. Tariffs and non-tariff barriers will be lowered by one-third; the coverage of the liberalized trading rules would be expanded to embrace areas important to the United States such as agriculture (ending the wasteful competition in subsidies) and intellectual property rights (extending legal protections). The U.S. Government estimates that the accord would pump $5 trillion into the world economy over the next decade.

For the democracies, of course, the issues are not only economic. President Bush once declared in a strategy document (the August 1991 *National Security Report*) that "ongoing trade negotiations now share some of the strategic importance we have traditionally attached to arms talks with the Soviet Union." He was right.

One of the big stakes here is the nature of the future Europe. French obstreperousness is in part a reflection of the struggle for Europe's soul. The EC is suddenly facing more hard and crucial choices at one time than it bargained for—whether to raise trade barriers to the outside world or lower them in the interests of global trade expansion; whether to give federal powers to Brussels bureaucrats or liberate the free market; whether to deepen the EC's present institutional foundations or open up to the newly democratic neighbors in Eastern Europe; whether unified Germany can best be contained by early federal union or an equilibrium of national states; and whether Uncle Sam is an inconvenient outsider or a still-needed stabilizing force. Needless to say, the United States has a major strategic interest in Europe's making the right choices.

Our trade quarrels with Europe have been fueling irresponsibility on both sides of the Atlantic. The Democrats clamor for withdrawing U.S. troops (Bill Clinton promises to pull out one-third of the 150,000 that George Bush, Dick Cheney and Colin Powell believe are needed) and the French badmouth the American connection (though the Yugoslav crisis has given the French some second thoughts about Europe's ability to manage without the Americans). From the American point of view, troop withdrawals will only compound our problem by reducing the leverage we will have in future trade negotiations with Europe. At a time of escalating European instabilities, moreover, and with the looming long-term difficulty of fitting both Germany and Russia into some stable European equilibrium, the American presence in Europe is as indispensable as ever. Failure of the Uruguay Round would poison the U.S.–European relationship, perhaps fatally, risking geopolitical disaster.

A trade deal now is unlikely to make much difference for George Bush's re-election campaign. It would, however, constitute an historic legacy, far more important than most of his fellow citizens may ever understand.

Communist Cat Of A Different Color

PARAMOUNT LEADER Deng Xiaoping, 88, who did a brief walk-on at the just-concluded Fourteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, during the past year forced his aged peers to recognize that the Communists' only chance of retaining power was to accept most un-Communist economic liberalization under the rubric "Socialism with Chinese characteristics." Some 1,900 delegates to the Fourteenth Congress have now joined him in recognizing two overwhelming realities.

The first is: Command economies don't work, and the Chinese people will no longer put up with a pinched and squalid existence for the glory of either nation or dogma. So they're now calling it a "Socialist market economy," and hailing that unnatural hybrid as the "expressway to development."

The second reality is: Power is now effectively decentralized in China, as it has usually been in the past, and there is no point in acting otherwise; however, the façade of central power can remain.

It may appear that central authority has been bolstered by the appointment of more generals and more regional leaders (the governors of all the thriving coastal provinces among them) to the Communist Party's expanded Central Executive Committee.

Actually, such appointments to the Central Committee and to the enlarged Politburo of twenty members are not an extension of central power, but a ritual in-gathering of the men (and the few women) who hold real power. With the concomitant retirement of the old guard and the appointment of a disproportionate number of economic reformers, this is

Aweigh, All Lifeboats

Pro-forma resignations
  Lie on the Captain's desk,
As, at the helm, gyrations
  Suggest an arabesque.
But what would have worked wonders
  A year or so ago
Accentuates the blunders,
  And now the ship's in tow.

W. H. VON DREELE

a formalization of the actual political balance. But formalities are very important in China.

Always practical, Deng Xiaoping is noted for having said: "It doesn't matter what color a cat is, as long as it catches mice." The Fourteenth Congress has just said: "It doesn't matter what color the Communist Party is—red, pink, or whitish—as long as it holds power."

The chief imperative for the Communist Party of China now—as for any political party and most private or public entities—is holding onto existence by holding onto power. Indeed, that is virtually its only imperative.

Can the Party hold power indefinitely that way?

See this space a few years hence. But remember that the viceroys who ruled multiprovincial entities in the old imperial days were instructed: "Above all, collect the taxes without interfering with the people's lives and stirring up rebellion!"

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Bill:

Enclosed is an article written by Margaret Truman ["GOP Lucky Truman Isn't Around to Shoot Back."] She is whimpering that George Bush is stealing Harry's best lines and therefore is a political plagiarist. You are the wordsmith. Would you please explain to her that a plagiarist is someone like that Democratic senator that steals entire speeches and passes them off as his own? Would you also tell her that the next time she wants to give George hell, she should stifle the urge and stick to playing the piano?

Regards,
Lorelei Tuttle Garvis
Humble, Tex.

P.S. Can you play "I'm Just Wild about Harry" on the harpsichord?

Dear Mrs. Garvis: In answer to your two questions: 1) Your letter needs no embroidery from me or, for that matter, from Shakespeare. 2) Yes, I can; and it sounds terrible. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Earlier this year, on a shuttle to Boston, I discovered NATIONAL REVIEW. The hour flight from La Guardia consisted of me insatiably flying through each glorious page. Upon landing I mailed the subscrription card.

Being 28, I recognize few of my peers understand the difference between conservative and liberal. I was blessed by a special senior seminar guided by the wise Indiana University Business Professor Harvey C. Bunke, who posed questions regarding the nature of man. Only on the last day of class did he answer any questions and it was then he explained the class's two polarized sets of opinions were in fact the basis of the conflicting philosophies of conservatism and liberalism. Half the class graduated to a higher level of enlightenment while the other half, confused, probably enjoy *The New Republic*.

My point being, NATIONAL REVIEW is a secret to the twentysomething age group. May I suggest that your readers buy an extra copy and give it to someone in their mid to late twenties who is already of a clear mind or who, as I was while at Indiana, is currently seeking to understand the truth?

Your new follower,
Ronald A. Rawald
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Rawald: A splendid idea. I wish I had thought of it! Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Sir, I have respected your mastery of the English language for a long time. I need your help. I am trying to write two protest letters; one to the Democratic Party, regarding the current presidential candidate and the other to CNN's *Crossfire* program.

Please tell me, should the following one-sentence paragraph have a period at the end or should it be left open for future additions?

> Incidentally Mr. Clinton per VP Dan Quayle's lexicon is the self-same liberal fellow which he denies being running for President which his wife wants as a candidate in a far left-liberal political party which says it's centrists that initiated a personal call to Governor Cuomo whom he doesn't like to apologize for a statement that he didn't make on a telephone call of record that didn't occur documenting a conversation with a woman who was not his girlfriend about a job he didn't cause her to get as she leap-frogged over a tenured black female applicant which he says he didn't do all being recited during a late night hour that was not business and spoken as he possibly smoked a joint but definitely not inhaling while he relaxed with relief at his being successful in dodging the draft into the United States military in order not to fight his country's war for those patriotic support he claims to possess but in which cause he did not believe nor whose defenses he did not come to aid.

Thank you for any insight forthcoming. I considered inserting a few random commas but was afraid I might ruin an otherwise perfect sentence.

Very truly yours,
Joe F. Hamilton
Russellville, Ala.

Dear Mr. Hamilton: Insert a comma in *that* sentence? Why, that would be like playing tennis with nets, which is unconstitutional. If you decide to put your sentence on a T-Shirt, kindly take my order. Cordially, **—WFB**

ON THE SCENE

On the Road with Bush and Quayle

RICHARD VIGILANTE

TWO days after Dan Quayle's debate performance gave the Bush campaign its biggest psychological boost in months, Quayle flew to Raleigh, North Carolina, to "drop in" on a local Republican "Debate Watch" party for the second presidential debate. The Raleigh Republicans rented a room in the North Raleigh Hilton big enough for three hundred and drew a crowd twice that size. As Clinton scowled petulantly and Bush looked at his watch, the crowd looked on quietly. They did cheer the Waffle House crack, and also when, for the first time I have seen, the President reminded people why we fought the Gulf War. Instead of asking voters to cheer for his military and diplomatic prowess in the abstract, he finally asked them to cheer for preventing Saddam Hussein from grabbing two-thirds of the world's oil and acquiring nuclear weapons to boot. That is something to cheer about, and they did.

After the debate, Art Pope, the GOP candidate for lieutenant governor, and Jim Gardner, the GOP candidate for governor, addressed the faithful. Both of them quickly learned how to get the crowd going: just say "Quayle." "Did you see the Vice President the other night?" Roar. "Did you see him wipe the floor with old wooden Al?" Roar. Gardner called Quayle "our guy" and "the man who has excited all America, and all the Republican Party, and all the conservative Democrats in this state" and had to stop for some time as the crowd demonstrated what a wonderful orator he had suddenly become.

When Quayle finally appeared the crowd really let go. Though he is still far from a great speaker, and often not even a good one, at these rallies of the faithful he is almost as good as it gets. He feeds off a crowd, sucking in their enthusiasm and pumping it back out as charisma. He reminds the crowd simply and forcefully and above all cheerfully that they are part of a cause more powerful than a mere partisan victory, and it makes them happy. He endorses term limits with his line about how "great it would be for the country to limit the terms of Metzenbaum and Kennedy," and they are ecstatic. He leaves the stage to screams of "Give 'em hell, Dan," and "We love you, Dan," and now finally the "four more years" chant, which nobody could get going before, starts in earnest.

Since the VP debate, Quayle light bulbs have been lighting up in lots of heads, as people who need to know—journalists who must decide whether to curry or assassinate; Washington courtiers, conservative and pragmatic alike—all of a sudden find themselves asking: "Is Quayle the one?" In the GOP Convention straw poll Jack Kemp easily led the field for 1996, while Quayle, who had just misspelled potato, was stuck in single digits. He might be right, went the general conservative opinion, but he could never be President.

"Well, back to the old drawing board."

Drawing by Peter Arno; © 1941, 1969, The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

That is still the majority view but it is changing. Face to face with the press, Quayle is now remarkably self-confident. Particularly striking is how combative he can be without becoming defensive or hostile. He may be an avid golfer, but he has developed a quarterback's ability to force the defense to play on his terms. He swats away questions he has no use for with a scorn that is intimidating because it is hardly ever sarcastic. He lets his anger at what he considers an unfair play show in intervals as brief as half a sentence, after which the smile and the big athletic gestures are back, inviting you to hang out with the cool BMOC types like himself instead of asking those dorky questions that all the other out-of-it lefty journalists obsess on because they can't get a date. Asked how he is going to handle a particularly nettlesome journalist, Quayle looks the reporter straight in the eye and says, "Hang 'im." He laughs; so does everybody.

In the morning Quayle and his entourage make a bus tour of eastern North Carolina. The crowds are not huge—the eastern end of the state is the tough one for Republicans—but they are enthusiastic, and their enthusiasm has a coherent core. Throughout the day we ask people in the crowds why they like Quayle, and the answers are remarkably similar. "He stands up for what he believes." "He is tough and he fights hard." "He is for family values." One man, a farmer wearing a funny hat, explains we have to have Quayle because he is for tort reform. Others hit on the basic Reagan agenda: we need lower taxes, less government, and that's what Quayle stands for and that's why the press persecutes him.

The last, biggest, and best rally of the day is on the campus of Fayetteville Technical Community College, just a few miles from Fort Bragg. Governor Jim Martin, who has also caught on to the "just say Quayle" method of political oratory, adds a new twist by dubbing the Veep "the

Great Debater." Quayle appears to deafening cheers and applause. At first he plays at trying to quiet the crowd, but then he joyously gives in and urges them on, half stalking, half dancing back and forth on a fifty-foot stage like a domesticated, Hoosier Mick Jagger.

Friendly crowd or no, this is a real talent; it is very easy to disappoint people offering you their love. But since he has not once this day had to give a serious speech, having condensed the argument for Bush and against Clinton to a half-dozen telling sentences on taxes, spending, big government, parental choice, and trust, one wonders whether he is proving anything more than that he can be a very good cheerleader. Jack Kemp, to take the obvious contrast, is so brainy and has all those ideas, many of which he actually thought up himself. He and Quayle are allies and disagree about little. So how does Quayle, if so inclined, fight Kemp for the '96 nomination?

One answer may be to sidestep: even some of the Quayle people would like to see him actually run something, like say Indiana, before running for President. But the more fundamental answer, I think, is that the winning agenda may still be about eight sentences long. If that is so, Quayle may say it better than Kemp. Kemp's New Paradigm social and economic agenda depends at its core on a (by political standards) complicated and difficult-to-implement reformation of the welfare state. And after all that effort the primary beneficiaries would be a very small segment of the population. Meanwhile, what most American families need is not a reformed government but a smaller one.

It is time to drop Reaganism's other shoe and give families the tax breaks they need to recapture the economic independence American families enjoyed in the Fifties. Kemp's bleeding-heart conservatism may play better with the press than in Peoria. The overwhelming majority of American families could take care of themselves very well if government were not actively undermining their neighborhoods, their values, and their bankbooks. Quayle might just get that into eight sentences, be denounced as simplistic by that crucial component of all successful Republican campaigns, the cultural elite, and dance all the way to the White House.

HAVING been pleasantly surprised by the state of the Quayle campaign, I hooked up with the Bush people the night of the final debate, hoping to add a little authenticating color to my own version of the popular "Bush death watch."

Unfortunately, actual contact with the Bush campaign ruined the story. The biggest culprit, of course, was Bush, who in the debate hit Clinton not only hard but effectively. The argument in the Bush camp in the few days before the debate as to whether he should be "aggressive" or "presidential" was typically beside the point in its emphasis on style over substance. Bush's problem in the first debates was not primarily that he was too polite, but that his account of Clinton's deficiencies made them seem irrelevant. Bush has a horrifying ability to suck the lifeblood out of any really good political issue, primarily by separating ideas from their effect in the real world. He has been talking all along, for example, about Clinton as an increaser of taxes, spending, and regulation. But until the final debate, he had never come close to painting a word picture of the nation's economy under Clinton's program. In that debate he made a serious attempt at such a picture, a portrait drawn from the memory of Jimmy Carter with Clinton's Arkansas in the background, and it worked.

Bush's performance was not the only surprise. From the neck down, at least, the Bush campaign seems much healthier than we have been led to believe: well organized, vigorous, and, as one senior Administration official put it, "full of smart, competent conservatives as well as pragmatists, executing very well a flawed strategy." There were perhaps a thousand members of the press at the debate; most watched it on TV from the "media filing center," a large gymnasium right across from Michigan State's Wharton Center, where the debate was held. Nearly every time Bush and Clinton had a factual disagreement, the Bush–Quayle people within minutes delivered to every journalist in the hall a fresh press release rebutting Clinton or supporting Bush. We got more than

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Mr. Vigilante is at work on a book about the New York Daily News *strike and the future of American labor.*

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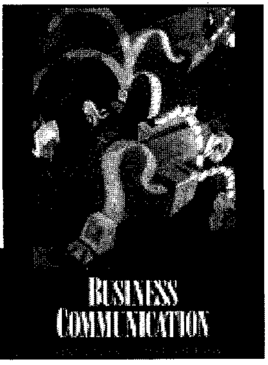

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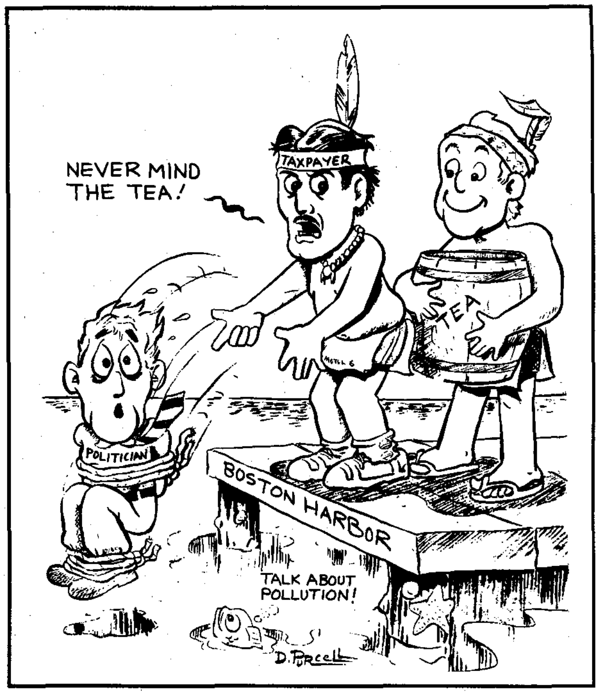

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twenty of these things in the course of ninety minutes. By contrast, before the debate the Clinton people delivered one thick, not easily perused collection of facts, and hardly made another appearance.

Minutes after Clinton had denied proposing to write 40 or 45 mpg CAFE standards into law, claiming the higher standards were only a "goal," the Bush–Quayle people provided this Clinton quote: "The 45 mpg standard should be a goal of automakers and incorporated into national legislation," which not only demonstrates that he prevaricated but suggests he planned to do so, otherwise why carefully insert the irrelevant phrase "goal of automakers"? But Clinton doesn't just lie, he is a liar, and like many really serious liars, he seems to believe he can compel others to accept anything favorable to himself. The efforts of the Bush team paid off; *USA Today* and a number of other papers backed Bush on some critical points, including the CAFE standards.

After the debate, there was a Bush rally at the Lansing Civic Center: well organized, packed, loud, and exhilarating. A crowd of eight thousand had gathered to watch the debate on a huge video screen. Then, after being warmed up by Wynonna Judd, the crowd gave Bush a hero's welcome, rocking the house for a good five minutes before they would let him speak. Bush was terrific: feisty, funny, more articulate on Clintonomics than at the debate. The next day, on a whistle-stop tour of Georgia and the Carolinas, he was still pumped, combative and articulate, drawing big, enthusiastic crowds, including more than 15,000 at Spartanburg.

So what is going on? Why the widespread perception that the campaign is in disarray or despair? More to the point, why isn't it working?

Many voters seem to have completely tuned Bush out, so that he no longer can get a fair hearing even on issues where he clearly has done well. The Roper Organization has noted that even on inflation and foreign policy, Bush is getting lower marks than Jimmy Carter. There are all sorts of explanations for this, including the Churchill thesis: voters don't want to hear from war leaders after the war is over. There is the recession. And of course, until the last debate, Bush's own performance was lackluster.

There is also the chance that the polls are off significantly. In between her travels with the campaign, Norma Greenaway of Southam News of Canada has been spending a lot of time interviewing "uncommitted" voters. She told me, "The average polling interview lasts about three minutes. I've found that if you talk to uncommitted voters much longer than that, a surprising number discover they are committed after all—to Bush."

There is also the press, which has given its most obnoxious performance since 1964. Quayle speechwriter Lisa Schiffren argues, "They have put up a wall between Bush and the electorate. You saw an energized, active campaign full of smart, dedicated people. I defy you to find it in the press. We hear constant complaints about the campaign lacking substance. Quayle has been giving a speech on health care that runs rings around Clinton's farfetched proposals, and there has not been a single major media discussion of it."

She has a point, but the press always tries to build a wall between conservative candidates and the electorate; the job of conservative campaigns is to go over the wall, something the the Bush campaign has failed to do. While "the middle echelons of the campaign and the White House are full of bright people who offer real hope for the future of Republican politics," says one long-time Bushie, "the people at the top have a real tendency to reject any idea that is not their own, and they have not had many lately."

In the weeks immediately after the convention the campaign was nearly silent, allowing the press to spend its time demonizing the convention's family-values themes and creating the myth that the convention failed—"even though," as the Bushie pointed out, "we actually got a nice bounce in the polls." Bush's top people are "uncomfortable with the family values stuff, but even if they did not want to follow up directly you have to give the press something to write or they will write what they want." Instead, the only newsworthy thing the campaign did in those first weeks was run away from the debates, reflecting the deep conviction of such as Darman and Baker that Bush is the weak link in the Bush campaign.

However, some hope remains. The Bushie continues: "The last debate was a major plot twist, and the final two weeks of the campaign could be much different. Clinton repeatedly proved himself a liar, not only about the draft 23 years ago but on crucial current issues. The lies about CAFE, for instance, made us a great commercial for Michigan—if only we use it."

In short, Bush's performance may have given him and his people enough confidence and leverage to mount a decent two-minute drill. As the Green Bay Packers used to say, "We never lose, but some days we run out of time." ☐

The Post-Cold-War World

ANTHONY HARTLEY

EAST BERLIN

IT IS an all too common experience to feel disappointment at the results of even the giddiest triumph. Slackness succeeds to tension, sadness to joy. Thus the conference, assembled in East Berlin—and the very location spells out the measure of the achievement—to discuss "A Last Encounter with the Cold War," was notably lacking in triumphalism and full of forebodings about the future. Europe and the world have sobered up since the happy days of the piercing of the Berlin Wall and the almost daily fall of Communist dominoes. The achievement of the monthly review *Encounter* (1953–1990) and its brilliant editors, Irving Kristol and Melvin Lasky, was celebrated, but precious little else.

Yet the West did win the cold war, and all sorts of things and people were responsible for that, from Robert Conquest's powerful account of the truth about the Soviet purges to President Reagan's increasing of the pressure on the leadership of the Soviet Union. How was the West able to defeat what had been a military and political threat to its existence for over forty years? Professor Richard Pipes gave the lapidary answer that Soviet Com-

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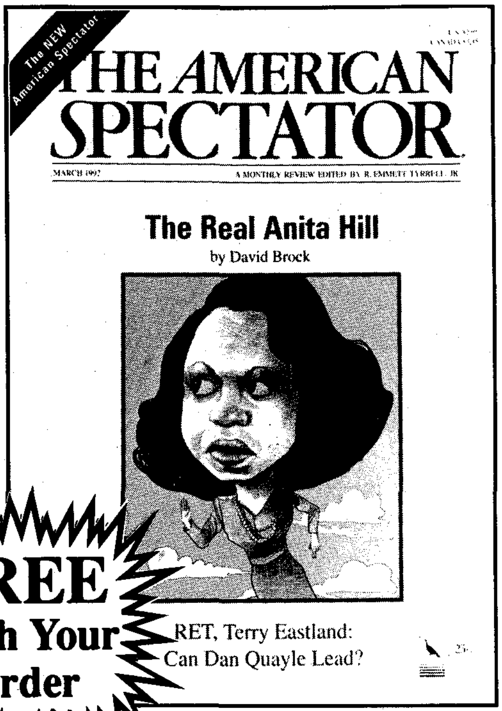
Mr. Hartley was Encounter's *last editor.*

The Real Story of Anita Hill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THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

MARCH 1992

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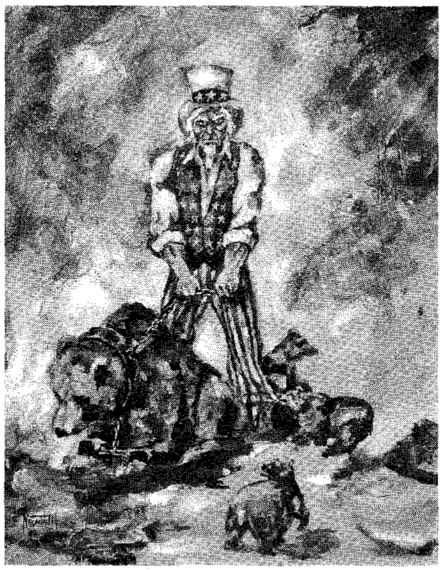
munism was, in a profound sense, *unnatural.* In denying the role of religion in society, in denying the right to private property, in suppressing free speech, this regime set itself against a whole series of fundamental human characteristics. This was a battle it could not win. Orwell's terrible image of the future as a boot on the face of humanity forever proved not to be true, but it was as well to have it proved. I can remember with what relief one greeted the Hungarian uprising in 1956, not because it looked like succeeding—it did not—but because it showed that human beings could not be brought to believe the Communist myth, even by an organized system of propaganda and terror.

In retrospect, of course, Soviet power looks so ramshackle that one wonders how we could ever have been afraid of it. Some hard things were said about Mikhael Gorbachev at the conference, notably by Yelena Bonner and Vladimir Bukovsky, but we at least owe to him German reunification without war and the withdrawal of the Soviet Union's considerable military forces from Eastern Europe. For, over the years, there was always the fear that Soviet military power, even if it could not win a war, could devastate the world. For a long time the nations of the Atlantic Alliance were like men walking along a narrow cliff path; they had to behave in a disciplined and rational manner, otherwise they would have fallen into the abyss of nuclear war. They passed this dangerous test. The alliance was an enormous success. At the end little was left of Soviet power, and the Soviet Union itself dissolved. Nor could Marxism any longer attract the fanatics and adventurers who had adhered to the faith in its early years. Communist Parties everywhere, with the exception of some Third World states, shared the fate of the Soviet Union.

In view of the risks of the cold war and the overwhelming character of its result, the mixture of nostalgia and anxiety with which the Conference discussed the future might appear surprising. A good many participants believed that the cold war was not, in fact, over—that, while Communism itself was dead, the virulence of its ideas and the fanatical intolerance of its disciples had passed into the veins of activists in other movements. It was not merely "political correctness" in American universities that was a threat to cultural freedom, said Gertrude Himmelfarb, but far more the dissolution of reality brought about by the latest intellectual fashions ("deconstructionism" et al.). In a wider sense all those whose personal psychology drew them toward Communism have turned to other movements—feminism, "gay" liberation, animal liberation, "anti-racism," etc.—where misanthropy, fanaticism, and the desire to reconstruct human nature can find an outlet.



Robert Nemeth

More alarming phenomena still can be seen in Europe. In the remains of Yugoslavia a blend of Serbian nationalism and Communists clinging to power has initiated a process of genocide which the civilized international community seems powerless to halt. From Eastern Europe, from North Africa and the Middle East, immigrants are on the move toward the prosperous countries. Their arrival and continued presence, in France and Germany especially, are proving to be profoundly destabilizing, often arousing brutal xenophobia. Here too, as in the case of Yugoslavia, what is striking is the confusion and impotence of governments.

It is not surprising that one of the features of European politics today is the rise of populist protest against governments and, indeed, against the political class as such. This phenomenon can be seen in the popular revolt against the Maastricht treaty in the French and Danish referendums and in public-opinion polls in Britain and Germany. In a climate of economic depression, this refusal of citizens to do what they are told by the political elite makes the future of politics in Western Europe highly volatile. Political forces are being released which the discipline of the cold war had previously constrained.

Still, there is cause for celebration. In the last years of its life *Encounter* magazine saw the possibilities for cultural freedom enormously increased. Huge tracts of territory, many famous towns, have been restored to the free world and will make their own contribution to it. The depressing apparatus of state control over property and the media has been dismantled. Margaret Thatcher gave the lead here to Czechoslovakia and Hungary. *Encounter*'s own history is an exemplary tale of what can be done to fight official dogma with ideas. Would that the threats to freedom, the intolerance and inhumanity of the post-cold-war era could be combated with the same brilliance and pertinacity that were the characteristics of *Encounter* at its best. The "cold warriors" assembled in Berlin may have been demobilized, but they have left to the future a pledge and an example. ☐

Does Anita Hill Have Skirt Tails?

GEOFFREY MORRIS

PHILADELPHIA

ANGER over Arlen Specter's questioning of Anita Hill induced Lynn Yeakel to run for the U.S. Senate in Pennsylvania. Exit polls indicate that many of those who voted for her in the Democratic primary did so for the same reason. But can the Year of the Woman survive the general election?

Until Harris Wofford beat Dick Thornburgh last year to fill the seat left vacant by Senator John Heinz's death, the Democrats hadn't won a Senate seat in the state since 1962. Arlen Specter must have seen that coming when he left the party of George McGovern for that of Jacob

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Mr. Morris is NR's *Executive Editor.*

The Campus Security Cost Scam.

Conservative speakers are rare at the University of Illinois. That's why Illinois student, Celeste Ann Lawson, asked Young America's Foundation to sponsor a lecture at her school by 75th U.S. Attorney General Edwin Meese.

But five days before the event she was informed by a campus dean that because Mr. Meese was an "attractive nuisance" there might be a disruption of his speech. So to pay for the "necessary" security, Celeste and the other conservatives would have to fork over $400 or have the lecture cancelled. But Celeste and her friends weren't about to cave in. They called the governor of the state as well as other state officials to protest. The next day the campus Chief of Police called Celeste to tell her that the university would "absorb" the cost of security. On the night of the lecture Mr. Meese appeared before a crowd of 1,000 enthusiastic students in spite of the scheming of the school administration.

Unfortunately, the story doesn't end here. Because the security cost scam is a common tactic that liberal campus administrators use to discourage students from inviting conservative speakers to their schools. Security costs are never demanded for the appearances of speakers on the left. But they have been attempted against conservative students at institutions such as Hamilton College, Georgetown University, and others.

Don't let your deans railroad you. We're helping students like Celeste Lawson with speakers, advice and literature. If the security cost scam is being used against you, let us know.

If you need our help, we want to hear from you. Or if you would like to help Young America's Foundation to assist students like Celeste Lawson, please contact us.

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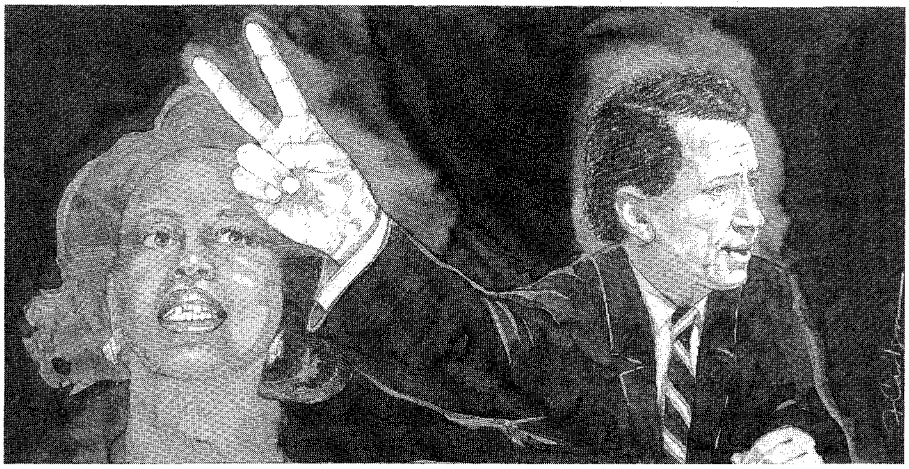
Javits to run for Philadelphia DA in the Sixties.

He is a pol as hardened as Pittsburgh steel. At a time when the electorate despises incumbents and embraces term limits, he proudly wears his seniority. For him a senator's job is to go to Washington and feed at the public trough for his Keystone Staters. And he does that job very effectively. Those pre-natal-care centers, that federal grant, that veterans' hospital, he rolls on, "didn't happen by coincidence, it happened because of my [position] on the Appropriations Committee."

For non-Pennsylvanians, he's not all bad. He supported the Reagan buildup; he voted for SDI; he authored a bill in 1984 to make career criminals rot in jail. But since his re-election in 1986 he has "grown." His campaign literature flaunts a willingness to break with fellow Republicans. Last month he did just that, voting (unsuccessfully) to remove the punch from the Supreme Court's *Beck* decision, which allows union members to deduct from their dues money given to political causes. His idea of support for the middle class is "voting to raise taxes on the wealthy."

Specter delivered an early blow to Mrs. Yeakel, whose main political experience is leading her liberal political fund-raising group, Women's Way. After she won the nomination, he attacked her as a Joanie One Note—for her continual criticism of his treatment of Anita Hill. This forced the novice Yeakel campaign to turn to other issues, on which she can't compete with Specter. Her stump speech includes improving health care (how?), taxing the wealthy (which she is), and diverting defense spending to domestic programs. In an effort to ride Bill Clinton's coattails, she has tried to associate the two-term Specter (ACU rating: 38 per cent) with the "failed economic policies of Ronald Reagan and George Bush."

The omnipresent issue in the campaign is abortion. Peggy Luksic, of the conservative PAC Pennsylvanians United, says the race is about "who is *more* pro-choice." It's a tough call. Mrs. Yeakel is backed by EMILY's List (which supports female candidates, but only if they're pro-choice), NOW, and the Women's Campaign Fund. And she follows their abortion-on-demand line. Specter, on the same hand, has 12 years of pro-abortion voting in the Senate. He supports Medicaid funding of abortions and the Freedom of Choice Act, and he says a 15-year-old should be permitted to end her pregnancy without her parents' permission. NARAL couldn't decide whom to endorse.


Fred Carlson

Senator Specter defends his votes to confirm Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor, and David Souter on the grounds that they *didn't* overturn *Roe* v. *Wade*. He takes credit for defeating Robert Bork because he would have. He voted for Clarence Thomas because it is "indispensable to have an African-American on the Court."

He's not proud of his questioning of Anita Hill, but someone had to do it. At his request, Senator Heinz's widow made a commercial—run over and over when one-year-anniversary stories of the hearings were dominating the news—saying that people should vote for Specter anyway.

He has shaken nearly every hand in all 67 of Pennsylvania's counties and has defined the campaign in his terms, says David Buffington, editor of the *Pennsylvania Report*, a political newsletter. Mrs. Yeakel's campaign, meanwhile, amounts to associating her opponent with Anita Hill and George Bush. It's always "'Arlen did this,' 'Arlen did that,'" says Buffington. "People don't like Arlen," but she is "running a pathetic campaign."

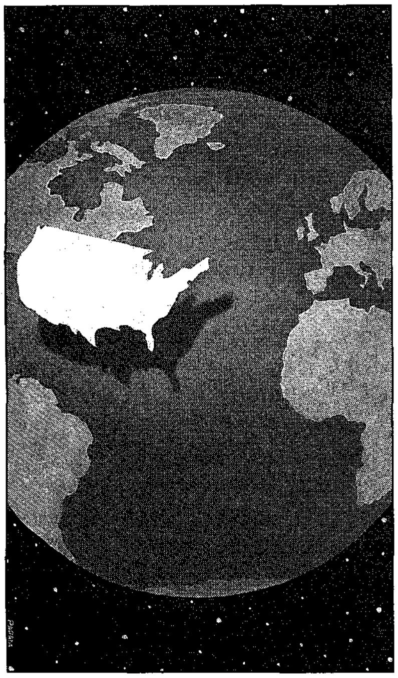
Apart from her unfamiliarity with the issues, her main weakness is that she's not familiar with the state. She referred to *Juanita* County while campaigning in Juniata County. She praised an employee-owned bakery in Pittsburgh as an example of private–public partnership, finding out later it was a pork project procured by Senator Specter. And in Erie she stood in front of a closed department store and blamed its shutdown on Reagan, Bush, and Specter—only to discover that it closed under Carter.

The day before declaring her candidacy, she paid ten years in back taxes: "It was not something I ever thought about, period." She has also been criticized for her husband's membership in an all-white country club. Jews are after her because she is on the board of the Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, some of whose members have made "ugly statements" about Israel, says Morton Klein of the Philadelphia American Zionist Foundation. Specter dutifully courts the Jewish vote.

Conservatives have never trusted Specter, and they have despised him for bailing out on Bork. But many will support him (though some will go for Libertarian John Perry) because he's a Republican, because they don't like Lynn Yeakel, and because he came through when the Thomas nomination seemed doomed.

The press is stuck. They don't know whether to play up the Year of the Woman or the "maverick" Republican. And polls show potential voters calling it a dead heat. The difference may be Specter's $7-plus million, twice Mrs. Yeakel's warchest, which he'll use in a TV blitz down the stretch. His son and chief aide, Shanin Specter, says the strategy is basically to chip away at the support Mrs. Yeakel gained in her original burst after the primary by going after her with "bread-and-butter issues." Till November 3, the Specter campaign will parade every new endorsement across the TV screen.

The problem is, if he wins he's got to give them all something for their support, and it's not going to be by a nay vote on the next spending bill. If he loses, Lynn Yeakel and Harris Wofford become the Keystone cops. □



New World Disorder

MUST THE U.S. DISENGAGE?

The impulse to leave foreign affairs to the foreigners has gained strength from the Soviet breakup, Saddam's survival, and our own economy. But before we come home, we should ask: If we don't take a leading role, who will?

JED C. SNYDER

A NEW round of questioning has begun in a very old debate: Should the United States continue to deploy military forces globally? The context of this debate—the first U.S. presidential election of the post-cold-war era—is the only new factor, although it is also the critical one, raising the second question: Does the end of the cold war vitiate the need for a substantial American combat presence in Europe?

Put simply, the absence of a serious military threat from the former Soviet Union appears to delegitimize the very foundation of the postwar security structure. Add to that the increased support among key European governments for a supra-European collective security structure (where the role of the United States is at best unclear), and powerful arguments that American budgetary pressures and urgent domestic priorities require substantial reductions in spending on defense and foreign assistance, and the historic American desire to disengage becomes nearly irresistible.

The debate was reopened by the struggle between the Congress and the executive branch over defense-spending levels. The Bush Administration's $281-billion proposed defense budget for fiscal year 1993 is the second year of a budget projection that would reduce defense spending by $50.4 billion over six years. As this article goes to press, the House and Senate have approved a compromise defense authorization bill of $274.3 billion, or $6.5 billion less than the President's request. Yet the President's proposed expenditure is already 3 per cent less than that called for in the 1990 budget-summit agreement. And with the expiration of the 1990 executive–legislative budget agreement (which prohibited transfer of military expenditures to domestic programs) Congress can be expected to slash defense spending significantly next year no matter who is President.

Under the Bush Administration's five-year plan, U.S. military forces would be reduced overall by 25 per cent. In addition, more than six hundred U.S. overseas military installations and facilities would either be turned over to host nations or closed, with the expectation that the entire U.S. overseas basing structure will be reduced by nearly 40 per cent. These reductions would leave a U.S. military force smaller than at any time since before the Korean War—a "Base Force" of 1.6 million service personnel (a reduction of more than 500,000 from the post-Vietnam peak) by FY 1997.

The Base Force concept has been severely criticized by a number of defense authorities in Congress, the most prominent being the House Armed Services Committee Chairman, Les Aspin. In a series of widely circulated papers, Mr. Aspin has formulated four defense-spending options, of which Option "C" has attracted the most attention. Mr. Aspin's "C" strategy is supposedly designed to allow U.S. forces to respond simultaneously to two major regional conflicts (Persian Gulf and Korea, for example) plus a third humanitarian effort (like that assembled to aid the Kurds after the 1991 Gulf War). It would also provide the capability to rotate U.S. forces for a sustained military presence in a longer crisis. He claims that his "C" force—which would reduce the Administration's Base Force by an additional three Army

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Mr. Snyder is a Senior Fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University. He served in the State Department during the first Reagan Administration and has been a consultant to the Office of the Secretary of Defense. The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the National Defense University, the Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERTO PARARDA

divisions, eight Air Force wings, and more than a hundred Navy ships—could also handle a third smaller contingency, on the order of the one in Panama.

Mr. Aspin's principal argument is that the Base Force concept recognizes only the first revolution in Soviet affairs—the fall of the Berlin Wall and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact. It has not, he argues, been revised to reflect a second revolution—the failed August 1991 coup by Soviet hardliners against Gorbachev. He concludes that "the residual, post-Soviet conventional threat is not sufficient to greatly influence the size of U.S. conventional forces." "Regional aggressors" (Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, North Korea, China) should now be the principal threat which drives U.S. defense planning; and that requires a significantly smaller military force than proposed by the Bush Administration.

Visions and Perceptions

THE ADMINISTRATION has been criticized for proposing a strategy and military budget that lacks creativity and vision. But, in fact, the underlying philosophy is not significantly different from that of Mr. Aspin. Considering Defense Secretary Cheney's analysis, as presented during testimony before the Senate Budget Committee in February, one is struck by the similarity, for example, of his emphasis on new regional threats. And Mr. Aspin would probably agree with Secretary Cheney's conclusion that because "the history of the twentieth century is replete with instances of major, unanticipated strategic shifts over five, ten, or twenty years . . . a proper appreciation for uncertainty is therefore a critical part of a realistic defense strategy that builds forces today for crises five, ten, or twenty years away."

But there is at least one very important difference. As Secretary Cheney puts it, "the future may also come to depend on others' perception of our will and capability to reconstitute forces and to deter and defend against strategic attack, should that prove necessary." Put simply, if key regional allies perceive an American unwillingess to confront new threats, then there will be no chance of encouraging new collective-security frameworks, and eventually larger security roles for allies. (Further, Mr. Aspin discounts the growing concern among Russologists that Boris Yeltsin could be overthrown by a coalition of disgruntled military officers and radical anti-reformers, thus dashing the only realistic hope for a democratic Russia whose foreign appetites can be contained.) In sum, debates over defense spending levels become academic, and we may find ourselves alone as a pariah superpower. Mr. Aspin seems willing to take that risk; Mr. Cheney is not.

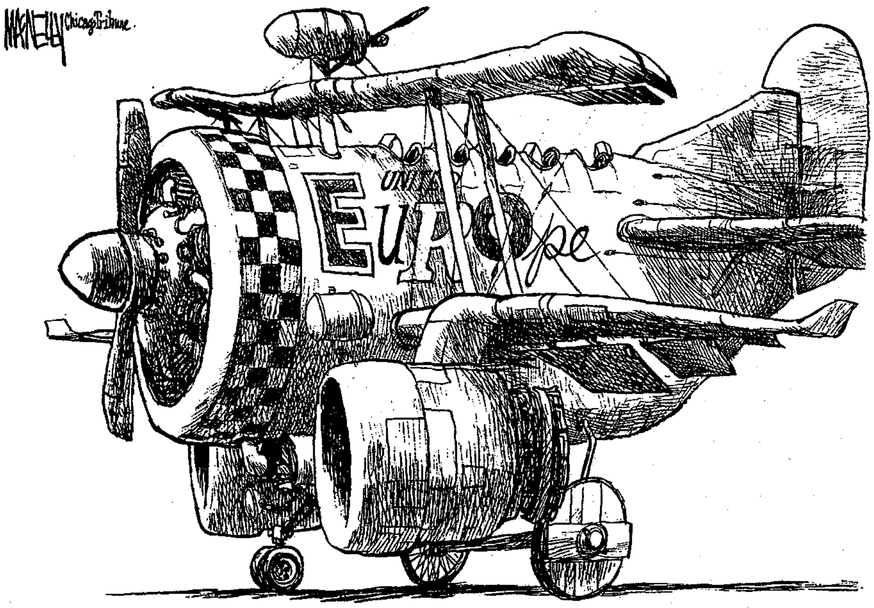
The budget debate became more heated than usual, partly as the result of an unprecedented leak of a sensitive Pentagon planning document. The entire text of the draft Defense Planning Guidance (DPG) report, the Pentagon's biennial, six-year strategy blueprint, was obtained by the *New York Times* in early March. The initial press accounts focused on the document's reported assertion that "the U.S. cannot become the world's policeman" and its acknowledgment that rivals for global leadership could emerge, and that American policy should strive "to sufficiently account for the interests of the advanced industrial nations to discourage them from challenging our leadership."

Much of the criticism of the conceptual basis for this strategy blueprint can be traced to a fundamental disagreement between "New World Order" idealism and Bush Administration skepticism of multilateralism and collective security. Many defense conservatives (including this author) share that skepticism and applaud Dick Cheney for expressing it openly. It is difficult to comprehend how—in the light of the general failure of multilateral institutions like the UN, CSCE, and EC to respond effectively to the rising wave of ethno-nationalist civil wars in the Balkans and Central Asia, for example—one could reasonably object to a skeptical approach to "collective security." In addition, virtually all of the European decision-making bodies have either excluded or minimized U.S. participation. In sum, it would seem that the much-maligned DPG's conclusion that "the United States should be postured to act independently when collective action cannot be orchestrated" is anything but imprudent. It is difficult to see how such a statement could cause controversy, except among those who reject *a priori* a leading role for American power and influence in the 1990s.

The adherents of retrenchment are unimpressed by arguments about superpower status and American leadership. They assert that the United States should neither *maintain nor seek* security responsibilities or commitments, and that the emerging "New World Order" affords a marvelous opportunity to roll back American power and influence overseas, beginning with Europe, which has formed the bedrock of U.S. grand strategy for nearly five decades.

The retrenchers have proclaimed the 1990s to be the "era of multilateralism." This is not a genuinely enthusiastic embrace of, say, the UN or the EC, but rather a perceived opportunity for the United States to dump responsibility upon feeble institutions less noted for their records as decision-making bodies than for excruciatingly lengthy debates on issues like the appropriate level of corn gluten exports or the acceptable amount of government subsidies for French farmers. Multilateral approaches to security threats—as Lady Thatcher, for one, has pointed out—are more likely to delay decisive action than to resolve crises.

Advocates of multilateralism are fond of pointing to the success of the UN in rolling back Iraqi aggression. This is a naïve reading of the UN's role in the Gulf War. While the Bush Administration was wise to seek a UN blessing for Desert Storm, the United Nations essentially acted as a fig leaf for a mission that many of the coalition members felt was necessary but politically correct only if cloaked in the UN charter. Ironically, the passage of time may reveal that President Bush's decision not to pursue the war further had more to do with his reluctance to upset the fragile coalition than a (le-



gitimate) concern over casualties. The UN did, however, help to establish an important principle of New World Order policing, that of shared cost. It is unlikely that the coalition members could have been pressured to contribute as large a share of the Desert Shield and Desert Storm expenses without the glare of international diplomacy, which the UN provided. The result was a pledge (fulfilled) by the allies to contribute $54 billion to the $61-billion cost of the Gulf War.

Of Two Minds

ADVOCATES of the new multilateralism point with enthusiasm toward Europe as the proving ground for many of their hypotheses. But Europeans are clearly ambivalent about their grand unification plan. On the one hand, they realize that their evolution as a major center of global economic and political intercourse is an inevitable (and positive) step in their maturation. With maturity, on the other hand, comes responsibility, risk, and expense—all of which have been avoided or minimized by the willingness of the United States to act as Europe's guardian.

Americans are similarly of two minds. Accustomed to referring to the Western Europeans as a homogenized group of U.S. "allies," they also applaud Europe's progression, since it could mean a respite from the enormous costs associated with underwriting Europe's security. The United States wants to maintain influence over those aspects of Europe's future that affect it directly, while eschewing its status as the sole financially responsible guardian.

There is one role that seems to everyone to be worth preserving—that of referee. The role of intermediary between and among the European allies, particularly on security and defense questions, is a uniquely American one, and the Europeans reluctantly acknowledge U.S. success in fulfilling it. What they have tended to discount, however, is the accumulated level of American impatience at the behavior of allies who seem to want the benefits of American protection and magnanimity on strictly European terms. The "trans-Atlantic bargain" was sustainable so long as a potent Soviet threat acted to eclipse the intra-European rivalries and even the occasionally serious U.S.–European rifts. It is doubtful that it can survive in the "New World Order" without significant reform and a new strategic focus.

But the reforms currently being discussed seem more likely to undermine than support it—starting with the 35,000-strong Franco-German army corps announced in May. The "European Corps" is designed supposedly to form the nucleus of a European army. Other European countries have been invited to contribute to the Corps. The German forces assigned to the headquarters in Strasbourg will be the first stationed on French territory since the end of World War II. The primary role of the Corps is to act outside of NATO's formal treaty area in both defense and peacekeeping roles.

Although both François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl released statements that this new European Corps would "contribute to strengthening the Alliance," and that it "will not affect existing obligations to other organizations," it seemed designed to directly challenge NATO's recent decision to create a more multinational structure of its own (including a 70,000-man, British-commanded rapid-reaction force to deal with NATO crises). Clearly, Mitterrand considered the new NATO approach a challenge to French desires to lead Europe's hypothetical integrated defense, and was able to drag Kohl along. (German Defense and Foreign Ministry officials privately are horrified by Kohl's subservience to Mitterrand, although with relatively inexperienced leaders at both ministries it is unlikely that Kohl will get a serious argument from either of them.)

Predictably, French and German interpretations of the Corps's role are distinctly different. The Germans insist it will wear two hats, answerable both to NATO and to the Western European Union (WEU)—a subgroup within NATO pointedly formed to exclude the U.S. The French, meanwhile, see no formal connection to NATO and want the Corps's forces assigned exclusively to the WEU. WEU leaders are themselves uncertain about the Corps's role. This, despite a decision at the Maastricht summit to give the WEU a central military mission in matters of non-NATO or out-of-area defense, while making the WEU subordinate to NATO on Alliance military questions. Interestingly, Germany's "constitutional problem" of deploying its troops beyond the NATO boundaries does not now seem to be as much of a problem as it was, say, during the Gulf War.

In all of this, the silence of the British is regrettable. London is so panicked by the prospect of the U.S. departure that it is likely, in the end, to support the new Franco-German axis as a replacement. Without active British resistance to European duplication of NATO's structure and missions, the United States will find itself isolated from its own allies.

And, ultimately, the French will have cause to regret that. As a senior French Defense Ministry official acknowledged to me last year, "The French are witnessing the unfolding of their greatest nightmare. Just as the Germans are reunifying, the Americans are preparing to leave." De Gaulle, who resented American power but respected American leadership, would be horrified.

Instability as the New Paradigm

A HASTY RETREAT from Europe—where, incidentally, the bulk of heavy U.S. combat divisions deployed during the Gulf War were stationed—could have an immediate ripple effect both there and elsewhere.

In 1990, the United States deployed over 314,000 troops in Europe, including two full Army corps of nearly five divisions and nine fighter wings. By 1995 the United States plans to reduce this forward presence to 150,000. On March 18, the U.S. VII Corp, based at Stuttgart, Germany (which provided the nucleus of U.S. ground troops for Desert Storm), was disbanded. Along with V Corp (which remains based in Frankfurt, Germany), these two units formed the backbone of the U.S. military presence in Europe for nearly five decades. At the ceremony marking the end of VII corp, then–Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg sought to reassure his nervous countrymen that the departure of these troops was "not the final word on the American commitment in Europe." But this may be just the beginning, if the Fortress America proponents have their way.

Although the Bush Administration regards the 150,000 as a floor, many in Congress and elsewhere regard it as a ceiling. The new defense authorization bill as approved by both Houses of Congress includes language that would cap the U.S. military presence in Europe at 100,000 by October 1, 1995. Clearly, there is a legitimate question regarding the necessary size of an American NATO garrison. But it is also true that the European allies have come to measure the seriousness of the U.S. commitment to Europe's security by the willingness of the United States to deploy a sizable garrison on the continent.

The judgment of most military specialists is that one complete armored corps and its support (roughly 100,000 troops) is the *minimum* sustainable fighting force. That will therefore probably be the benchmark employed by U.S. allies to evaluate the seriousness of the commitment. And it seems likely that the *number* of remaining U.S. troops will receive even greater attention now that the American ground presence is essentially nuclear-free. At the height of the cold war, ground-based nuclear weapons acted to protect the U.S. ground forces. With the fading of the threat and the removal of the ground-based nuclear deterrent U.S. troops have in effect become the tripwire. A Euro-hostile Congress is likely to focus on this as it whittles away the size of the U.S. ground force on the Continent.

Dragon's Teeth

ALTHOUGH the most dangerous challenges are admittedly not centered in Europe, how the United States behaves there will likely be regarded by American allies (and adversaries) as precedent-setting. Consider where the next major threats may appear. North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, one of the last surviving totalitarians, has no doubt applauded the premature withdrawal of U.S. tactical nuclear weapons from South Korea, where their role as a tripwire was more likely to be tested than in Europe, even at the height of the cold war.

The nuclear withdrawal was made on the promise by Pyongyang that North Korea would open its worrisome nuclear facilities to international inspection. So far, three IAEA inspections of the North's nuclear facilities have been carried out. There has been, however, a deafening silence from both the IAEA and the North Koreans on the results of those inspections. This is ominous, since the IAEA has a history of trumpeting successful inspections, particularly in the light of its failure to detect Iraq's clandestine weapons programs. Add to the nuclear concerns an earlier decision by the Bush Administration to reduce Asian military deployments by 10 per cent, and a somewhat unstable and unpredictable dictator like Mr. Kim could conclude that he now had an invitation to test the bounds of behavior permissible in the New World Order.

In the Middle East, Saddam Hussein's "defeat" nevertheless leaves an intact military of considerable size, a still simmering underground nuclear program, a leader seemingly undeterred by the humiliating losses during Desert Storm, and "moderate" Arab neighbors who seem to have already forgotten the threat posed by the butcher of Baghdad. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and Syrian President Hafez al Assad now publicly oppose the use of additional force to remove lingering Iraqi ballistic missile and nuclear capabilities. Add to that Saudi Arabia's refusal to allow sufficient levels of U.S. pre-positioned equipment to remain on its soil and it becomes clear that a rapid return of U.S. forces would be difficult should the need arise.

Nor is the blind ambition for political hegemony a uniquely Middle Eastern phenomenon. Witness the brutal behavior of the Serbian leadership in Yugoslavia. Although the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic did not proclaim himself to be the new Saladin, as did Saddam Hussein, he has made clear that the world created by Yalta and Potsdam no longer exists and that its constraints no longer impress him. And his attacks on Muslim areas in what used to be Yugoslavia are not, even on the most cold-blooded calculation, merely "internal matters": they ultimately risk a military response by Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey.

This suggests the advisability for NATO of maintaining military forces that could act rapidly to defuse explosive situations. However, achieving agreement to use NATO forces anywhere in Eastern Europe, an already difficult task, will be nearly impossible in the absence of an American military component.

Witness the failed efforts of the EC to broker a settlement in Yugoslavia. The EC ministers initially failed even to agree on a political approach to the civil war there, in large part because the French and German governments were supporting opposing sides. When agreement on a ceasefire plan was finally reached among the EC governments, their envoy, Lord Carrington (a statesman of considerable reputation), found he lacked the authority even to be taken seriously by any of the parties to the dispute.

Meanwhile, in July, the WEU and NATO each agreed to deploy a naval task force to the Adriatic to monitor the UN trade embargo against Serbia. The U.S. Sixth Fleet also deployed a carrier battle group. Although three separate fleets (numbering more than a dozen warships) were deployed, none were authorized to do anything more than report violations of the UN embargo. NATO's failure to act is particularly troubling, since it is the only organization among the many being suggested for new roles in the "New World Order" (EC, CSCE, WEU, UN) with sufficient forces and political weight to act in a crisis. The key ingredient, however—political will—is lacking.

A similarly incendiary situation has boiled over between Turkish-speaking Muslim Azeris and Christian Armenians in the former Soviet republics of Azerbaijan and Armenia. This ethnic war directly affects a NATO ally—Turkey, whose new Prime Minister, Suleyman Demirel, has warned President Bush directly that if Armenians continue to kill Azerbaijanis, the Turkish public will insist on Turkey's intervention.

The NATO alliance has taken a tentative step toward involvement: at its June meeting, NATO foreign ministers approved use of NATO forces for peacekeeping operations outside of the Alliance's formal boundaries—but only if the request came from the now expanded, 52-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). This effectively makes NATO the out-of-area enforcement arm of the CSCE, but NATO leaders insist that their forces be deployed only if a ceasefire is in place and if the parties agree in advance to such intervention. Neither the Azeris nor the Armenians are likely to do so.

The danger of a Soviet threat to the West clearly evaporated with the dissolution of the USSR. Nevertheless, the 15 successor states to the Soviet empire will be in a period of uncertain and wrenching transition for at least a decade, during which time unforeseen and unpredictable security challenges are likely to surface. While a more complete analysis of post-Soviet security questions will have to await another article (to appear in *NR* later this fall), after nearly a year and several summit meetings it is clear that efforts to build and sustain a post-Soviet union through the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) have been largely unsuccessful. The continuing search for some confederation among the former Soviet republics on the one hand, and the emergence of increasingly militant ethnic secessionist movements in places like Georgia, Moldova, Russia, and Central Asia, on the other, are likely to threaten stability in Eurasia and therefore present security problems for the U.S. and its allies.

Regardless of whether the CIS survives as a confederation, Russia will certainly continue to dominate Eurasia economically, politically, and militarily. While Russia does not pose an *immediate* military threat to the West, large questions about its foreign-policy intentions remain, prominent among them the custody of some twenty thousand nuclear weapons and the ultimate resolution of an evolving strategic competition with its bordering rival, Ukraine.

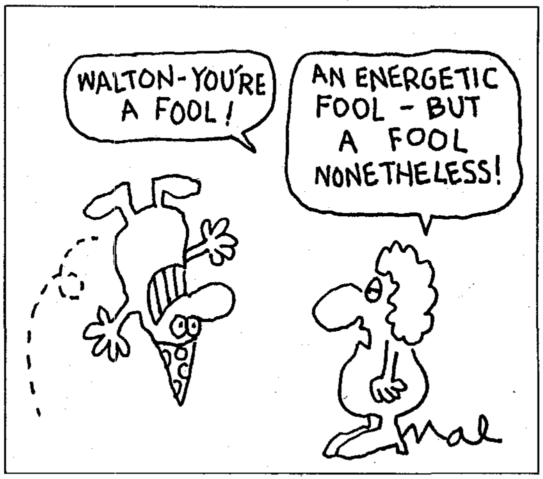
Clearly, as Central and Eastern Europe slowly transform themselves from a theater of U.S.–Soviet confrontation toward a region of fiercely independent, nationalistic societies, the presence of U.S. forces in Western Europe is likely to remain a useful instrument for maintaining U.S. influence, particularly on Europe's periphery. Further, the presence of American forces assists in ensuring some level of integration of Western policy. As the establishment of the WEU, the CSCE, and the European Corps—not to mention the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC), formed at the NATO Summit meeting in Rome last November, and including the 16 NATO members, the 5 former Warsaw Pact nations, and the 15 former Soviet republics—indicates, Europeans clearly enjoy forming associations. But at the moment, it would seem that the only accomplishment of which they can boast is the creation of large and probably competing institutions designed to fill the vacuum that the Americans are expected to leave. So long as there is no one effective institutional framework supported by all of Europe's major powers, then there is little prospect of united European action on any issue.

After the Cold War

THE COLD WAR required tenacity and commitment, whereas the emerging security environment requires creativity and vision. In order to retain a leadership position among both the Western nations and those peripheral to or outside of our alliance systems, U.S. defense and foreign-policy architects must broaden their conception of security, both in its national and international contexts.

What the adherents of retrenchment fail to grasp is that superpowers, if they wish to influence events toward the protection of their vital interests, can never really "come home." They are condemned to balance a domestic agenda with foreign commitments. This, admittedly, is not a particularly creative or profound discovery, but it also is not empty nostalgia for the good ol' days of American imperium, if in fact they ever existed. There are simply no substitutes visible on the horizon for U.S. global leadership. ☐

help


WALTON-YOU'RE A FOOL!
AN ENERGETIC FOOL - BUT A FOOL NONETHELESS!
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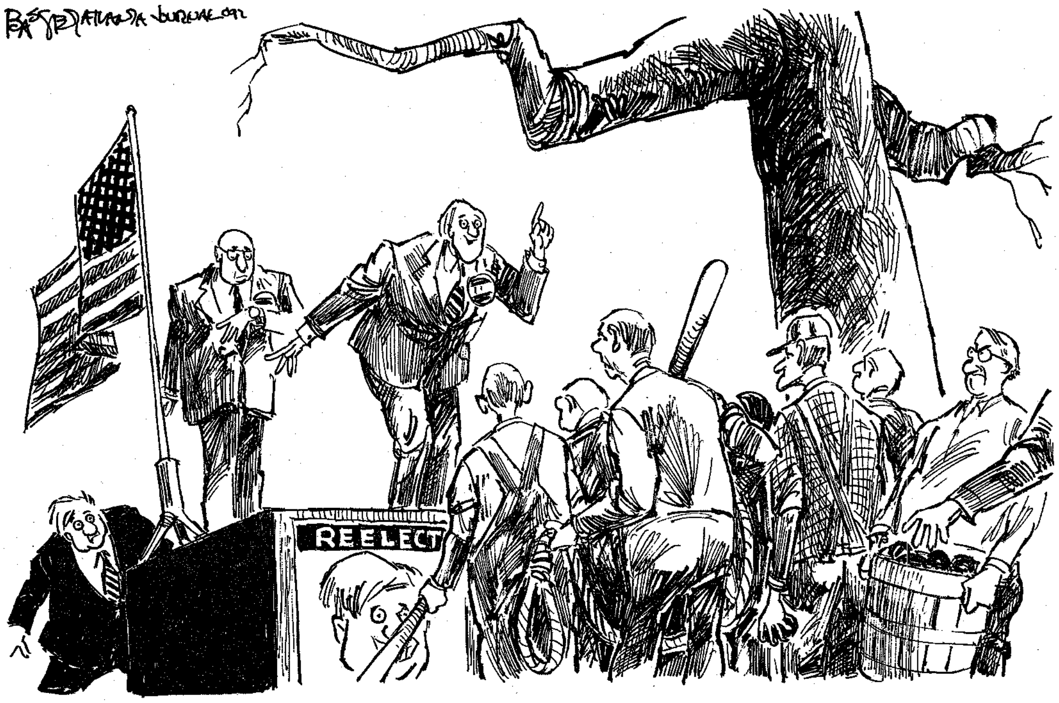
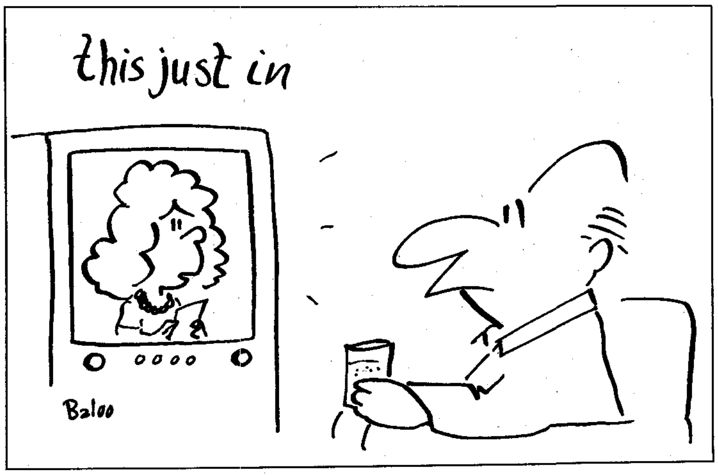


"Although the congressman has finished his Washington business, he might be delayed a bit."

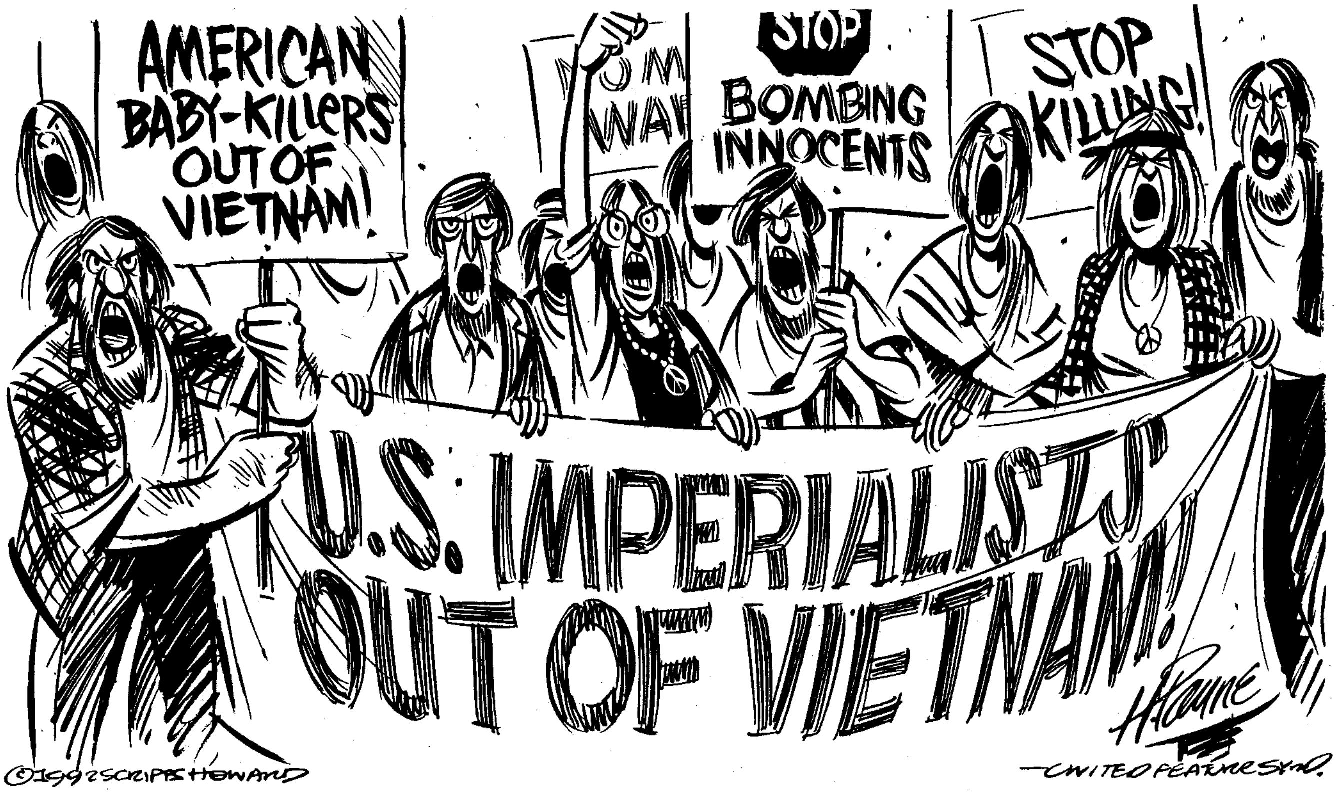
It's Yummy Time

Now shall I, as the Democrats return
Like brokers with accounts they yearn to churn,
Anticipate exploding interest rates
While plotting to refurbish my estates.

W. H. VON DREELE


this just in
Baloo

"To make a long story short, the doo-doo deepened today."


AMERICAN BABY-KILLERS OUT OF VIETNAM!
STOP BOMBING INNOCENTS
STOP KILLING!
U.S. IMPERIALISTS OUT OF VIETNAM!
H. Payne
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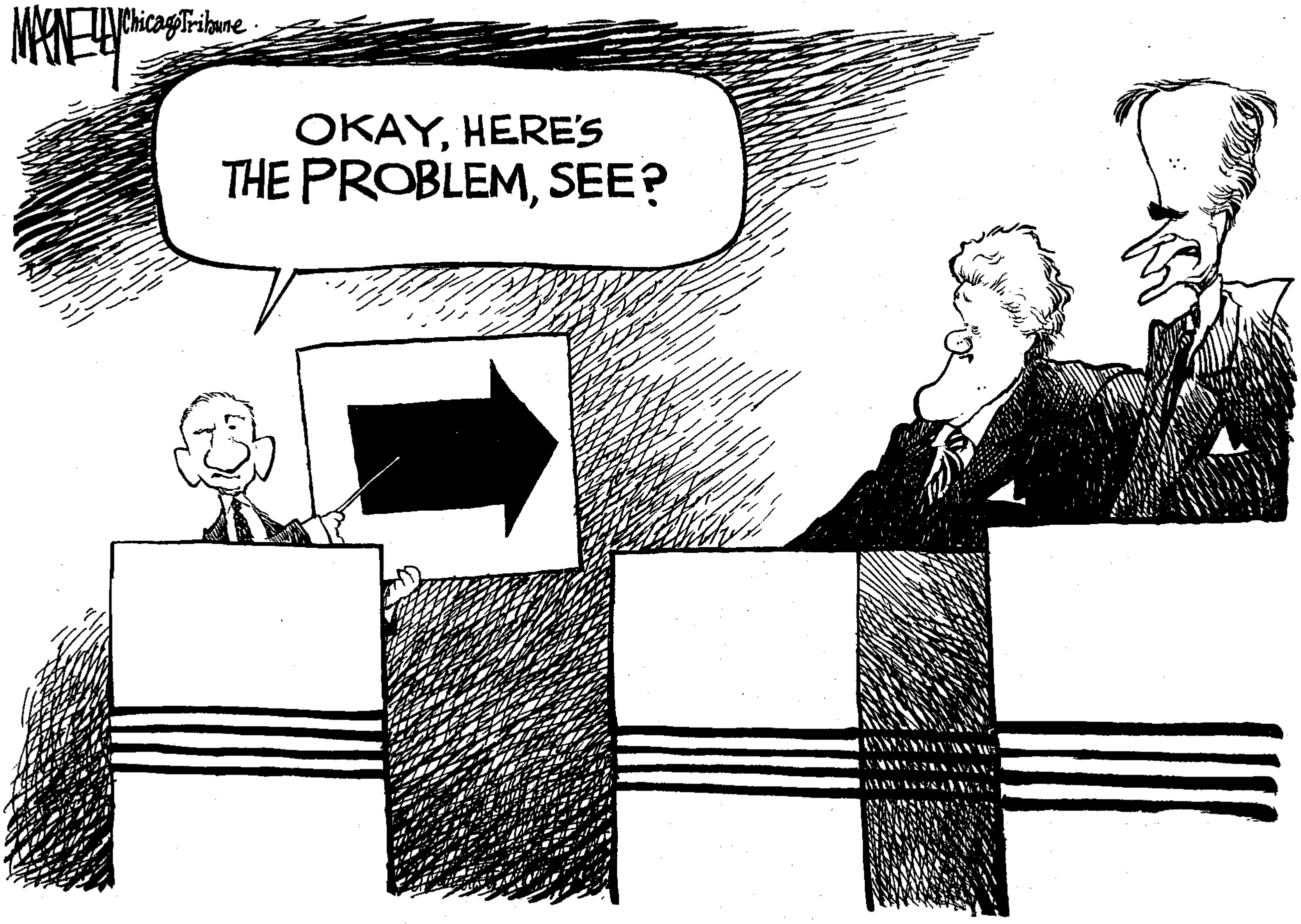
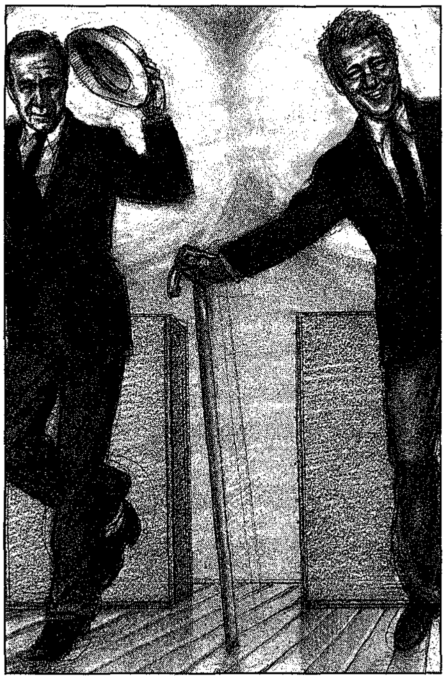
—United Feature Synd.

1973: FUTURE REPORTERS AND CONGRESSMEN DEMANDING INCREASED PRESSURE ON HANOI TO FULLY ACCOUNT FOR ALL AMERICAN MIAs.


MacNelly Chicago Tribune
OKAY, HERE'S THE PROBLEM, SEE?



Framing the Questions

THE TWILIGHT OF THE CAMPAIGN

George Bush is no Great Communicator. But we mustn't let that make us forget how much of the Reagan coalition he has listened to, and what Bill Clinton would tell it instead.

HADLEY ARKES

A VISITOR to the family quarters of the White House remarked to me of his surprise at the American President whose picture figured most prominently in the photos that surrounded Mr. Bush in his most intimate settings. Asked to guess, I could not, and neither could any of my friends who have made the study of politics their vocation. The right guess came finally from a friend in mathematics, who always sees politics from an odd angle. He said: LBJ. The story made me recall that, when Mr. Nixon was inaugurated in January 1969, George Bush went to the airport to pay his respects to Lyndon Johnson. Later, when Mr. Bush ran for the Senate in Texas, he paid his respects again. The story will one day be filled in, and we will learn more about the ties that connected George Bush to Lyndon Johnson.

But the connection takes on the eeriest quality this year, as events seemed to spin out of control for President Bush just as they did for President Johnson. The irony is that he had sought, in the Gulf War, to avoid Johnson's main mistake: time and again he would say, "No more Vietnams," no more wars with ill-defined missions. And yet, Bush has managed to replicate the deeper problem that undermined LBJ's Presidency, and produced its most devastating effect in the Tet Offensive.

The Tet Lesson

THAT Offensive, early in 1968, came as a jolting surprise, and the lesson drawn in the panic of the hour was that the enemy remained vigorous and audacious, that we were nowhere near achieving our end in Vietnam. At that moment, the "best and the brightest" began to lose their nerve. But of course the Tet Offensive was a disaster for the Vietcong, who suffered massive casualties and exhausted themselves as a political and military force. The extravagant, wrong lessons were drawn because of the panic, as the reporters were suddenly left on their own, with the need to supply a meaning to the event. But as Peter Braestrup showed in his memorable book, *Big Story*, the panic sprang from the surprise, and the surprise occurred because Lyndon Johnson had made no effort to prepare the public for the offensive he knew was coming. Braestrup has drawn the striking contrast to Mr. Nixon in dealing with the May Offensive in 1972: The Administration alerted the public to the coming attack; the President went on the air to explain just what measures he had ordered. By framing the problem for them, Nixon saved the reporters from the need to impart their own meaning to it.

George Bush had the chance to observe both Johnson and Nixon closely, but somehow he managed to miss the lesson. He has permitted his adversaries in the media to speak in his place and supply the most implausible caricatures of his policies. In the case of the economic program, the "story line" became that the President had no program. And what has become understandably baffling to the President is just how difficult it has been to dislodge that "story line" once it took hold.

The Administration had made its character plain in a pattern of decisions, spread over three years, and that pattern should be evident by now even to the dimmest reporters. Of course, the Administration had fallen into some grievous mistakes, most notably in permitting a massive increase in spending and regulation, but it has shown a pronounced aversion to the notion of "solving" social problems by laying, upon private employers, the responsibility to remedy problems they did not make. The Administration has not been inclined, that is, to try to solve the problem of unemployment by making it more expensive to hire additional workers. Nor does it seek to treat the problem of rising costs in health care by imposing price controls on drugs. And yet, in the curious world we inhabit now, an Administra-

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ILLUSTRATION BY JANET HAMLIN

tion that persistently prefers a freer economy is accused of a want of purpose. Apparently, if I am bent on a policy of rent control, I would be credited with having a policy on housing, but if I show the good sense to avoid this false remedy, I am accused of a want of policy.

What has been needed, from the President and his colleagues, is the kind of talk that sets in place the understanding from which everything

Debates, 'Debates,' and Showbiz

GEORGE BUSH sure can be a heavy sleeper, and some nights it takes a helluva wakeup call to get his attention. But once he hears the buzzer. . . . Would that there were two *more* weeks before the election, and two *more* debates. I mean, of course, a cross between Quayle–Gore and Presidential III, both of which the good guys won—hands down.

But what does "won" mean? A short answer is any or all of three things: gaining the most votes, making the best impression, or making the best case. These criteria apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to formal debating as well as to popular, hybrid, political-campaign debates. Juries vote, and the Oxford Union "divides the house"; debate coaches counsel fluency, direct eye-contact, and varied and appropriate gesture; and debate judges calculate winning arguments. So: To some degree *every* debate is a Rorschach test.

Of course, within an electoral context, only votes count. With respect to the other two criteria, however, and notwithstanding the Vice President's nervous laugh, a touch of "hyperkinesis," and the incivility of excessive interruption (I've now said the worst), my first ink blot says Quayle cleaned Gore's clock. The senator was well prepared but overrehearsed: wooden, unresponsive, too frequently disarmed and thus lacking in conviction. His technique can best be described as High School Formulaic. Quayle, on the other hand, rarely let a ripe opportunity pass, from his response to negative campaigning ("See my press clippings for the last four years"), to his ridicule of *60 Minutes* ("Don't believe everything you see on television, Senator"). Though it should not be expected of the *Vice* President that he establish campaign themes and sustain arguments in support of them, Quayle did just that, notably with respect to the environment.

Presidential I and II, respectively two days before and after Quayle–Gore, were not *debates*. By debates I do not mean "town meetings" (that's showbiz: mostly camera angles and body language—Oprah's and Phil's caring, sharing, and daring), nor panel interviews (these are hardly more than crypto-press-conferences). Bush–Clinton were surely not Lincoln–Douglas: There is no Lincoln (a Douglas would not be too easy to come by, either), there is no Single Great Issue, and *there is an insufficient public for the real thing*. We tire easily and then alibi, eventually complaining of too many numbers, or that the effective debater is simply a "good actor." (Have you noticed that the Great Communicator was not even a *good* actor—until he scaled the Everests of stand-up, direct, in-person oral communication? *Then* he became, well, "just a good actor.")

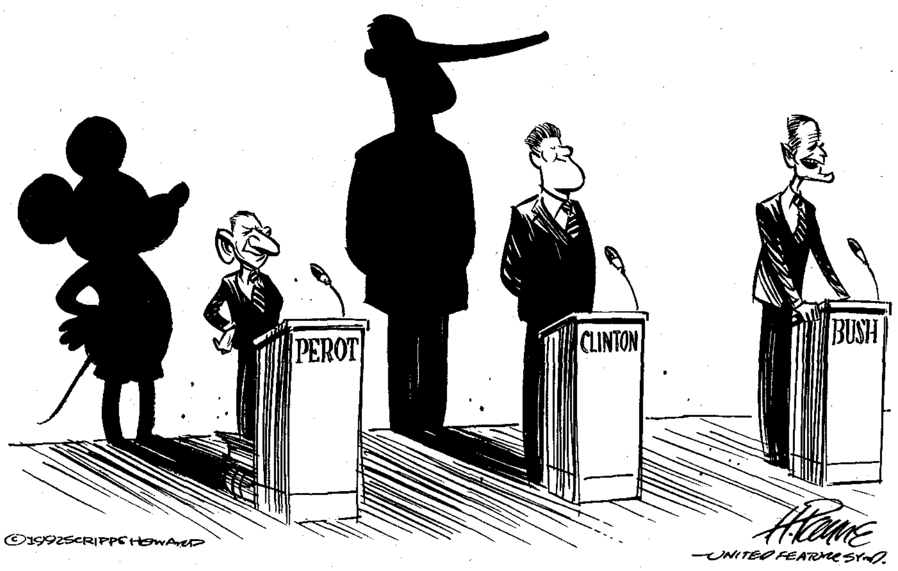
Perot won the "debate." And although the President performed adequately—appearing self-assured and by no means aloof from either the "issues" or the office—Clinton demonstrated marked and legitimate strengths: intelligence, programmatic knowledge and command, persistence, rhetorical adroitness. But for a telling lack of settled maturity (he seems "in touch" with everything and everyone *except* himself and, like an adolescent, is genuinely incapable of admitting error and so must re-invent his past), he might be a heavyweight. Of course he won the second engagement. The President was himself, natural, a bit less yielding than usual, and (as William Safire aptly put it) "comfortable under pressure." Perot wore thin but still was not made to pay, especially for so woefully miscasting our greatest (and otherwise deeply capable) living hero as a bumbling running-mate. The format, Clinton, and perhaps the campaign are typified by this fact: The most "forceful" question—"How can you help us if you don't know what we're feeling?"—was the most banal. To his credit, the President did all but dismiss it.

In the third encounter the President did what the campaign should have been doing all along and what good debaters accomplish. Early, persistently, and emphatically, he 1) established a useful context: economic woes are global and we are suffering less than in our past and less than most of the developed world, less than under the last Democratic President (you just can't say "Jimmy Carter" too often!); 2) defined terms his way—"middle class" (if you make $36,000—not Clinton's $52,000—"watch your wallet"), "trickle down" (as in "trickle-down government"), and "investment" (*not* the government taking our money to make work); and 3) co-opted the issues. In a debate, these are discovered; in a "debate" they are too often "made" by "the people," as was the case with Presidential II when one interrogator sadly confused personality with character. Bush, with assertive calm, emphasized the latter, commandingly dismissed Perot's Iraq gambit, delineated his leadership (in contrast with Clinton) on NAFTA and Desert Storm, and adroitly usurped . . . the economy: homeowners, with low interest for re-financing loans, *are* better off; people on fixed incomes, with low inflation, *are* better off; and the superb, "He'd be in charge—that's what I'm afraid of!"

Nixon (as fine a debater as our electoral process has ever seen) won his fourth encounter with Arthur of Camelot even in television terms; but it was the least watched, and people had already made up their minds. This year a substantial percentage of voters has not yet decided, and Presidential III was watched by 88 million people; its 44.6 rating was the highest of all the debates. Maybe the President is not the only one who finally heard the wakeup call.

—JAMES COMO

Mr. Como teaches rhetoric at York College in New York City.



SHADOWS

else, intelligibly, springs: the initiatives and the vetoes, the paths of policy taken and the paths deliberately left untaken. When the President does not supply this kind of talk, he should not be surprised when his own followers drift off in a state of mild panic mixed with incomprehension.

On no issue has this point been borne out more tellingly in recent weeks than on the issue of abortion. The *New York Times* has carried accounts of Republican businessmen who have defected to Clinton on the issue of the economy. But all of them claimed, as a further propellent for their move, the issue of abortion.

As the readers of these columns know, Mr. Bush has been supplied over the last four years with proposals to stake out a program of moderate steps on abortion. The President might have offered, first, proposals that were heavily favored by the American people: to forbid abortions in late term, or abortions carried out because the child was likely to be blind or lame. With these modest moves the President could have established some momentous points: that some abortions are not justified; that they may rightly be restricted; that unborn children may be protected.

By this means Mr. Bush could have broken through the fog implanted by the media. With all of their resources of investigative journalism, the media have still not managed to convey to the public the rudimentary fact that abortions can be performed for any reason, throughout the entire length of the pregnancy. Bush could have embarrassed his adversaries in the media by breaking this news out.

In this respect, the emblem for the campaign—and the Administration—might have been furnished by my friend Robert George of Princeton University. A few of us had been talking about how good the President had been on this question—in vetoing the use of fetal tissue, in resisting all varieties of measures to promote public funding of abortion. "But that is Bush's problem," said Robbie George: "He has been all action, and no talk."

Of course abortion has not been the animating issue for most people in this election, but the handling of this question marks the serious changes that have taken place in the American political class. The President and Vice President are uneasy speaking of the subject because they sense that most of the public are uneasy in speaking about it. A rural audience in Illinois in the 1850s had the wit to follow Lincoln and Douglas as they unfolded some rather complicated essays in moral argument. But it may be that the people have lost a certain practice in principled reasoning because the speakers cast before them have stopped offering examples of it.

Consider the reaction to Mr. Clinton's scheme for the economy. In the past, politicians would have raised the question of whether these measures were unconstitutional, and perhaps even immoral: To fix a responsibility on the part of employers to pay for the medical insurance of their employees was to transfer property from person A to person B. It looked, in other words, like a taking of property without compensation. It was a move, on the part of the government, to create benefits without having to justify new taxes to pay for them. Against this kind of sleaziness, the provisions in the Constitution were meant to cast up barriers and warnings. But in a legal sensibility that has become deadened, the warning signs are no longer seen, and the questions are not even raised. And yet, Mr. Bush held back this season from a decision to index capital gains through an executive order, precisely because lawyers in the government harbored serious doubts about the legality of the move. But if the President is willing to honor these concerns, even when they cut against his interests, why is he reluctant to sound the issue in the campaign?

Unasked Questions

OF COURSE, the press has ruled out any questions touching on the morality of Clinton or his policies, and it has nearly ruled out, as immoral, any questions critical of Clinton. Even the usually decorous Robert MacNeil asked the President testily whether there was no limit on what he was willing to do to win. This kind of slander has become routine. In the past, there might have been calls for equal time, or a faint gesture toward equity. But the passivity here seems to mark another gesture of capitulation to the class—and the culture—that rule the media. Behind the holding back there may simply be a sense that it does not matter: None of this hostility would have defeated Ronald Reagan, and it may no longer seem so important after George Bush has left the scene.

I have been surprised by the number of conservatives who have confided to me that they would be relieved, overall, to see Bush depart. They have been utterly certain that Clinton will not last beyond one term. But in this estimate, they show a want of concreteness and imagination.

One moment, during the second "debate," might have summarized everything. President Bush had pronounced in favor of term limits for congressmen. Governor Clinton opposed the plan: He would preserve the right of people to keep their favorite congressmen, but he would strike at those wrongful uses of money to keep politi-

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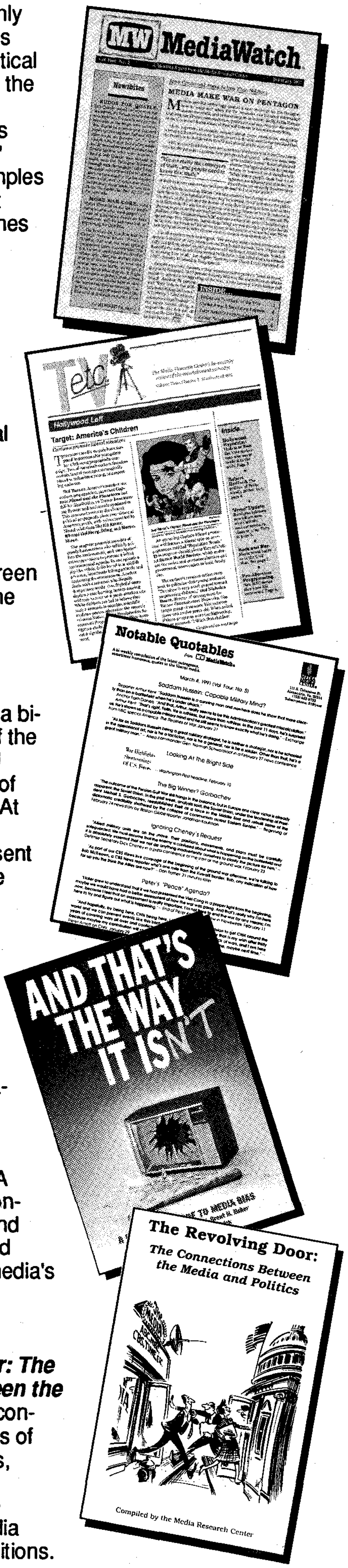
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cians in office. He would ban the PACs with their massive gifts of cash. Given a choice, that is, Clinton gravitates to the "reform" that makes the government larger: more forms to be filed, requiring more administrators to review the forms, in agencies grown larger. More complaints then, needing the guidance of lawyers, and more judges to hear the complaints. The problem is an entrenched political class, and the solution is more administration, and a larger public sector.

On the matter of abortion, Clinton promises to entrench, to make irreversible, the policy of promoting abortion, not merely as a private choice, but as a public good. Some Republicans may think that Clinton will rid them of the pro-lifers, by virtually knocking them out as a political force. But it was Ronald Reagan who drew to the party the evangelicals and Catholics who were concerned about the "life issues," and if these people lose their attachment to the party, it may find itself shrunk again to the constituency of Goldwater.

It was no small genius on the part of George Bush that he recognized what Ronald Reagan had wrought. As he sought to be Reagan's successor, he traveled to exotic parts of the Reagan coalition, and he learned how to absorb the varied accents of this movement, along with its varied interests. Before that odyssey, I too had been dismissive, in 1980, of this Yalie, who had disclosed no particular sense of mission as he advanced in his career from one high post to another. But his achievement came, as I say, in absorbing as his own the coalition that Ronald Reagan had built.

I cling to whatever slender hope exists that the voters will sober up at the last moment and not turn the government over to the campus politicians of the 1960s, who grew older without growing up. But if they do decide on a change, the Republicans may suffer a further surprise: They may discover how much they miss George Bush. They will miss his gameness, his spirit, his persisting buoyancy and energy. They will also miss his conservatism, and they will discover just how much harder it is for anyone else to connect the sections of the party as he connected them. They may conclude, wistfully, as Mencken did of Grover Cleveland, that he was a good man in a bad trade. □

Cradle of Scandals

THE TARBABIES OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Don't look for the bizarre impact of Iran and Iraq on American policy to lessen in days to come.

DANIEL PIPES

FOR 12 YEARS, two distant, medium-sized, and hitherto not very important states have bedeviled American Presidents. Jimmy Carter had to cope with the fall of the Shah, the U.S. embassy seizure, and Iraq's attack on Iran. Ronald Reagan had Iran's attack on Iraq, the Iran/Contra scandal, and the *U.S.S. Stark* and *Vincennes* incidents. George Bush had the October Surprise, the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, "Iraqgate," and Saddam's survival in power.

Why Iran and Iraq? And what does the future hold?

It takes a bit of effort now to remember, but U.S.–Iranian relations had long prospered. When the Iranian constitutionalists needed help with finances early in 1911, whom should they bring to Teheran as treasurer-general but an American, W. Morgan Shuster? When again in need of financial advice in 1922, they hired another American, Arthur Millspaugh. Americans returned the favor. They celebrated Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi as the very model of a benevolent king. "What is going on in Iran is about the best thing going on anywhere in the world," Lyndon B. Johnson enthused in 1964.

Things began to sour about 1970, when the Shah led OPEC in raising the price of oil. The first energy crisis not only caused economic problems (recession, inflation), but it prompted a deep sense of pessimism in the West. It wasn't apparent at the time, but this confrontation started a new era for Iran and the United States.

By 1977, when Jimmy Carter came into office, the oil market had stabilized. In keeping with the traditional U.S.–Iranian amity, Carter spent New Year's Eve in 1977 with the Shah and toasted Iran as "an island of stability in one of the more troubled areas of the world." As if prompted by this testimonial, the Shah went on the offensive one week later and personally approved a scurrilous newspaper attack on Ayatollah Khomeini. Outrage at the article prompted anti-government riots, with attendant killings; the Iranian custom of commemorating the fortieth day after a death led to a recurring cycle of violence. By January 1979 the Shah had fled Iran; Ayatollah Khomeini returned a month later.

The Shah's collapse deeply hurt American interests. Militarily, an ally in a critical region turned into an enemy. The supply of Persian Gulf oil became extremely vulnerable. To make matters worse, the Islamic Republic quickly emerged as the most profoundly anti-American regime anywhere in the world. Whatever their views of the United States, Kremlin commissars wore ties; Khomeinists saw the necktie as a symbol of Western imperialism.

In November 1979, a group calling itself Muslim Students Following the Line of the Imam assaulted the U.S. Embassy complex in Teheran, beginning 444 humiliating days of hostage-holding. The seizure became a symbol for American paralysis.

The rescue attempt of April 1980 only made matters worse. Two American aircraft collided, killing eight soldiers. The U.S. military—no, the whole country—felt intensely humili-

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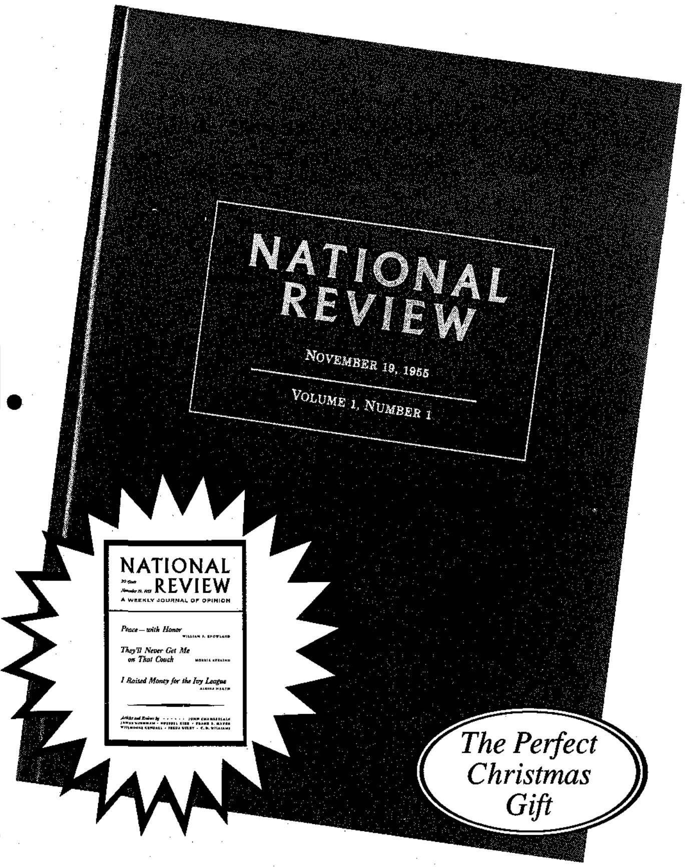
Mr. Pipes is director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

And Bill Buckley Said "Let There Be Right." And There Was Right. And The Right Was Good.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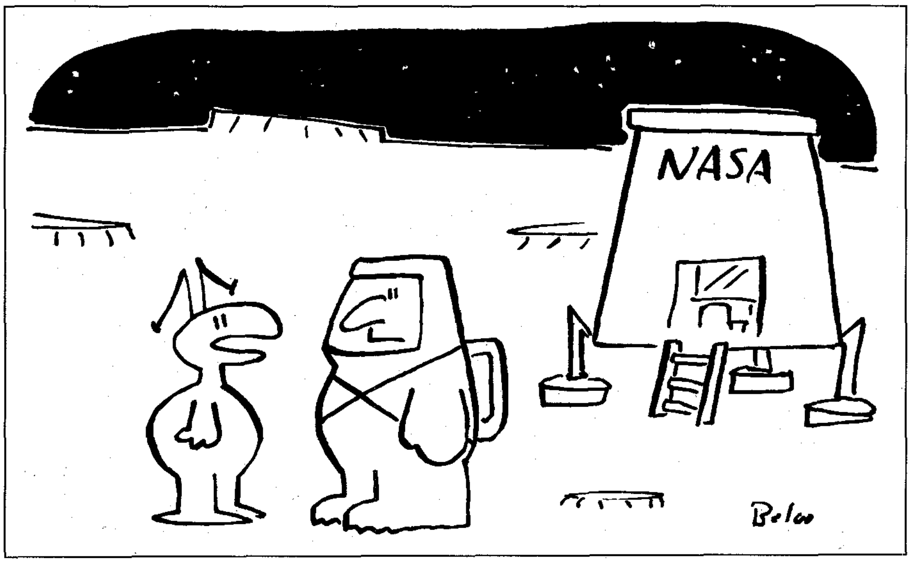
ated. The absolute nadir came when an ayatollah visited the site and prodded the incinerated remains of American soldiers on the desert floor.

The hostages haunted the 1980 presidential campaign. As election day approached, speculation increasingly focused on an "October Surprise"—concessions by Carter that would get the hostages out. But the Iranians despised him too much for that. Partly to show their hostility (and partly because they feared Ronald Reagan), they let the Americans leave Iranian airspace precisely as Reagan took the oath of office and Carter's Presidency came to an end.

At least Reagan started with a fresh slate. For a year, he enjoyed relative quiet from Iran. Then, building on its successful use of hostages in Teheran, the Iranian leadership encouraged the tactic elsewhere. Shiites in Lebanon took the hint. Beginning with the capture of David Dodge, president of the American University of Beirut, in July 1982, they held Americans (and other foreigners) hostage, a sore in the American body politic for ten years.



"Enough formalities, already—let's talk foreign aid."

Guilt about abandoning the hostages made appeasement a constant temptation. In 1985, the Administration capitulated. The duplicity of the Iran/Contra scheme—with its imbroglio of keys, cakes, begged money, and Central Americans—permanently wounded the Reagan Presidency.

In addition to taking hostages, Iranian-backed terrorists also killed Americans, starting in April 1983, when they bombed the U.S. Embassy in Beirut. Killing Americans had a strategic purpose: to intimidate the U.S. and chase it out of the region, a goal achieved in Iran and Lebanon but nowhere else.

The *Vincennes* incident topped off years of U.S.–Iranian skirmishes in the Persian Gulf region. Iranian aggressiveness in the Iran–Iraq War had led to repeated encounters with American forces. U.S. ships protected Kuwaiti tankers, destroyed Iranian gunboats, and threatened worse. In July 1988, the *Vincennes* shot down an Iran Air passenger plane. Though the downing was inadvertent, the Iranians interpreted it as part of an American conspiracy to support Iraq. To the Iranians' despair, the world responded only limply to this outrage. Finally understanding the extent of Iran's isolation, Ayatollah Khomeini days later decided to "drink a cup of poison" and call off the fight against Iraq. Thus did Americans inadvertently bring the Iran–Iraq war to an end.

Tarbaby-like, troubles with the Islamic Republic keep sticking. Charges that George Bush was directly involved in the Iran/Contra affair keep popping up. The *Vincennes* incident recently returned to the news, as *U.S. News & World Report* argued that the fault lay with a belligerent American pilot. Most dramatically, the "October Surprise" won't go away. This theory accuses candidate Reagan of reaching a deal with the ayatollahs *not* to release American hostages before the 1980 election. Though research, both journalistic and congressional, has disproved any veracity, the theory threatens to live on in the popular imagination, poisoning American political life with its implication that the two Reagan Administrations were fundamentally illegitimate.

Meanwhile, Next Door

THE Iraqi people long viewed the U.S. with something like the favor of their Iranian neighbors. They appreciated Woodrow Wilson's hesitations about British rule and looked to the U.S. for justice. Even during Desert Storm, we heard, for example, of the Baghdad merchant who stated: "We were bombed but we were happy. We thought it would be an end to our misery."

But since the coup d'état of 1958, Iraqi governments have been steadily hostile to the West. In the 1970s, for example, Baghdad had a major role in putting together the Rejectionist Front, a grouping of hard-line anti-Israel and anti-American states which vehemently condemned any reduction in the Arab–Israeli conflict. However high the rhetorical pitch, however, at least Iraq did not actually invade its neighbors.

When Saddam Hussein became president in July 1979, this changed. He turned Iraq into a military machine, adding, for example, some eight hundred tanks within the next year. But his real interest lay in non-conventional weaponry—biological and chemical agents, missiles, the famed supergun, and, to top it off, nuclear weaponry. The prospect of Saddam with The Bomb so distressed Israel's leaders that they launched the world's only pre-emptive strike against a nuclear installation in June 1981. Strangely, the U.S. condemned Jerusalem and delayed the shipment of F-16 aircraft. Here, as so often in the years to come, Washington gave Saddam the benefit of the doubt.

Saddam began his expansionist career by invading Iran in September 1980. He made two mistakes: misjudging the Iranian response and not continuing on to attack Teheran itself. Far from capitulating, the Iranian leadership was galvanized. By mid 1982, Iranian forces threatened to move into Iraq.

"A plague on both your houses," came the American reaction. The U.S. Government viewed Iraq as the aggressor but could not support Teheran so long as it held 52 hostages. Only when the Iranians went on the offensive in 1982 did the Reagan Admin-

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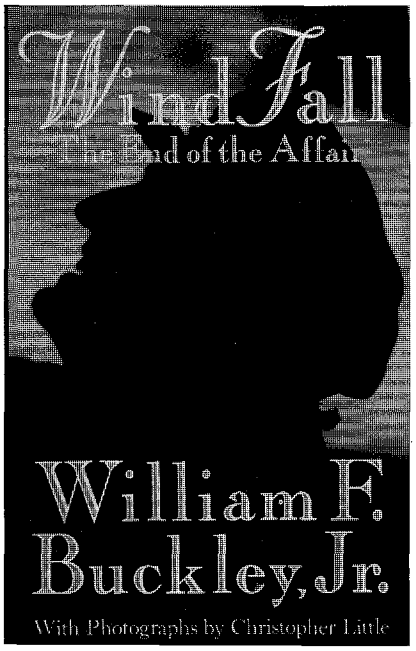

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istration—rightly fearing the expansion of Iranian radicalism throughout the Middle East—tilt toward Iraq.

Learning nothing, forgetting nothing, the Iraqi dictator invaded Kuwait in August 1990. He again misjudged the will of the enemy and again stopped too early. Saddam himself, in a rare admission, recognized it was a mistake "not continuing the attack all the way to Saudi Arabia's Eastern Province and then occupying it." This mistake gave President Bush a chance. For seven months, he focused his attention on formulating a response, putting together a coalition, and conducting a war.

However well the war went, Bush had little time to enjoy its benefits before "Saddam still has a job, do you?" bumper stickers turned up. Not only did Saddam stay in power, but his truculence and brutality remained intact. To protect the Shiites, the Western powers imposed a no-fly zone in southern Iraq. This increased the possibility of U.S. forces again in combat against Iraqis. Even if you overwhelmingly vanquish the Iraqi tarbaby, it sticks to you.

It stuck in another way too: appalling irregularities in U.S. Government conduct *vis-à-vis* Iraq during 1988–90 have come to light. It transpired that employees at the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL) had made $2.86 billion in unauthorized loans to the Iraqi government. Investigators found evidence of coverups in both the U.S. and Italian governments, prompting Attorney General William Barr to appoint a special prosecutor. The issue not only became an election liability for the Bush Administration but threatens to become another permanent scandal.

Shape of the Future

IRONICALLY, American policy in the Persian Gulf since 1977 has been essentially successful. The Red Army did not exploit the Shah's fall to occupy Iran. The Iran–Iraq war did not provoke spiraling oil prices and a worldwide depression. Kuwait did not disappear, Saddam did not deploy nukes, nor are Iranian forces occupying Baghdad.

Yet most Americans would deem Washington's policy in the Persian Gulf region an abject failure. In part, this discrepancy has to do with the imperfect nature of the American accomplishment—disasters averted rather than visions attained. In part, it follows from Washington's secretive, triangular, and somewhat amoral tactics, methods which make most Americans queasy.

But we'd better get used to these deficiencies, for they typify the balance-of-power policies which characterize politics in a non-cold-war world. The Persian Gulf pattern is likely to repeat itself in regard to China and its neighbors, Russia and its former colonies, the Arabs and Israel, and even the South African government and the African National Congress. The more quickly Americans accept the pattern, the better their country's foreign policy will function. □

Government and the Jobless

HOW TO INCREASE UNEMPLOYMENT

Historically, the worst thing government can do about unemployment is try to end it.

RICHARD VEDDER and LOWELL GALLAWAY

HISTORY tells us that when unemployment is high, presidential incumbents lose. That includes every incumbent President in the twentieth century who has faced 7 per cent unemployment on election day and a higher unemployment rate than two years earlier: Herbert Hoover, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter. That is the situation George Bush faces today. An unhappy public wants something done about the sluggish economy. Yet the evidence from the past tells us that the best thing government can do to reduce the ranks of the unemployed is—nothing.

In response to the Panic of 1907, Congress created a central bank to maintain stable economic conditions. The Federal Reserve System began operations on January 1, 1914, and within six years prices in the U.S. had doubled. In the seventh year of its operation, 1920, the nation had the largest single-year deflation of its history, with wholesale prices falling more than 36 per cent in a single year.

Wages also fell, but not quite so precipitously. Hence real wages—wages adjusted for the purchasing power of the dollar—rose for a time, pricing some labor out of the market and causing a nearly 12 per cent unemployment rate in 1921. Whether the monumental price, output, and jobs instability would have occurred in the absence of the Fed is unknown, but the new central bank certainly did not win any medals for stabilizing the value of the currency and the level of output, probably its principal function.

The policy sins of 1920, however, pale into insignificance compared with those of a decade later. A rather conventional downturn in economic activity, accompanied by the 1929 stock-market decline, led to calls for government action. An activist President, Herbert Hoover, was more than happy to comply. Imbued with an underconsumptionist philosophy that became orthodoxy a few years later when John Maynard Keynes published his *General Theory*, Hoover suc-

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Messrs. Vedder and Gallaway both teach economics at Ohio University, where they are affiliated with its Contemporary History Institute. Mr. Gallaway is a visiting scholar at the Joint Economic Committee of Congress. This article was adapted from their forthcoming book for the Independent Institute, Out of Work: Unemployment and Government in Twentieth Century America *(New York: Holmes & Meier).*

cessfully urged business leaders to keep wages high so as to maintain purchasing power. Rather than falling as they usually did in downturns, wages were maintained at prosperity levels until 1931. Increasingly impoverished employers laid off workers rather than pay them less.

Other policy errors (for example, the Smoot–Hawley tariff and a 1932 "rob the rich" income-tax hike) contributed to the downturn. Recovery began in March 1933, but double-digit unemployment remained for seven more years. The main reason for this was that Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal continued the Hoover high-wage policy. The National Industrial Recovery Act, the Wagner Act, the Social Security Act, and, later, the Fair Labor Standards Act all contributed to dramatically increasing labor costs.

In the 1970s, it became fashionable to blame the prevailing stagflation and recession on external forces (just as Hoover did in the 1930s), particularly the nefarious OPEC cartel. While OPEC certainly did not help the economy any, the stagflation was building long before the price of oil tripled. The misery index—the sum of the inflation and unemployment rates—rose from a range of 6 to 7 in the mid 1960s to above 10 to 1970 and 1971.

The Keynesian remedy of stimulating the economy by inflating prices (thereby lowering real wages, making it attractive to hire more workers) was losing its effectiveness. Lincoln was right—you can fool all of the people some of the time, which is what expansionary monetary and fiscal policy did in the mid 1960s, as relatively docile workers accepted modest money wage increases eaten up by inflation.

Lincoln was also right, however, that you cannot fool all the people all the time. By the 1970s, workers were becoming very inflation-conscious, and fiscal stimulus was followed by increasing demands for higher wages. After the 1973 oil embargo, the government tried the orthodox Keynesian remedy—deficit-financed spending increases accompanied by big increases in the money supply—with singularly unimpressive results.

The 1960s Great Society had also contributed to an increase in the "natural rate" of unemployment by pushing up the adjusted real wage. New programs like Food Stamps and Medicaid made low-income workers increasingly fussy about the types of jobs they would take.

While Federal Reserve Chairman Volcker and President Reagan were hardly Leninists, they saw the wisdom in Lenin's 1921 pronouncement that sometimes you have to take one step backward in order to take two forward. Volcker and Reagan ended the policy of inflationary stimulus that had proved so ineffective (the misery index had reached 20 in Jimmy Carter's last year as President, the highest level since the Great Depression). Inflation rates tumbled. In the short run, workers were fooled. They were demanding and getting large wage increases based on an assumption of high inflation. Real wages rose sharply in early 1982, creating unemployment. But within a year, workers realized that the disinflation was for real. Wage demands moderated, leading unemployment to fall, setting the stage for the nation's longest peacetime expansion.

Beware Experts

A READING of modern American macroeconomic history leaves four very vivid impressions: 1) The American worker needs prosperous capitalists to provide job opportunities. 2) Governmental efforts to reduce unemployment most often worsen the problem. 3) Long-term improvement in living standards requires improvements in productivity, better understood by reading Adam Smith than John Maynard Keynes. 4) "Experts" are dangerous and should be listened to skeptically; if a case can ever be made for warning labels, it is with regard to macroeconomic forecasts.

When a business's profits are high, wage costs absorb a relatively small portion of each sales dollar; businesses find that by hiring more workers they can expand profits further. Moreover, they tend to become optimistic about the future, enhancing both hiring and investment spending. When profits fall, on the other hand, businesses must reduce labor costs either by explicitly reducing money wages or by letting workers go.

Market forces tend to end recessions naturally by forcing a fall in the adjusted real wage. Thus the 1920–21 recession, initially worse than the Great Depression, dissipated within a year or so under "do nothing" Presidents (first Woodrow Wilson, who was seriously ill and thus unable to pursue his activist inclinations, then Warren Harding, who was not inclined to intervene). Falling money wages ended the unemployment problem. The Great Depression, by contrast, got worse after continual labor-market meddling. More recently, the 1982 recession lasted only about a year, with virtually no special attempts on the part of the Reagan Administration to end it. As labor markets softened, real wages fell, increasing the attractiveness of labor.

This is where productivity comes in. Low wages may increase employment, but rising living standards require higher wages. That would seem to pose an unattractive choice: relatively plentiful jobs but a low living standard, or high wages and relatively few jobs. While that tradeoff does exist, plentiful jobs and high wages can coexist, by raising the output of workers over time.

During the last two decades, productivity advances of American labor have been anemic, averaging less than 1 per cent a year. This has been blamed on virtually everything from the Arabs manipulating oil prices to the alleged tendency of American business leaders to be uninterested in long-run economic progress. The evidence suggests, however, that much of the problem lies elsewhere. Net capital formation in America today is less than it was early in this century or is now in other industrialized nations, in large part because of the punitive taxation of capital. Moreover, much of the new capital that has been formed has been diverted into meeting regulatory mandates rather than enhancing productivity.

If the Americans with Disabilities Act forces bus companies to widen aisles, lowering capacity, then "passenger miles per transit worker" will fall. If legislation mandating maximum class size in public schools is adopted (as it has been in several states), then "output per teacher" inevitably falls. If the Civil Rights Act leads firms to hire less qualified workers than otherwise, again productivity will fall. In general, regulatory mandates drag down productivity, causing unemployment, reduced living standards, or a combination of both.

In short, being kinder and gentler

by approving a morass of new environmental, civil-rights, minimum-wage, and other legislation has hurt American workers. But, then, economic history is full of examples of the "experts" making major errors in their reading

Clinton's Industrial Policy

IT IS an irony that today, just as most of the world is celebrating the triumph of capitalism over socialism and market forces over central planning, American voters appear to be preparing to take a step backward. The Clinton economic program is one of higher marginal tax rates, micro-meddling in the affairs of business, managed trade, and industrial policy—the misguided idea that a committee of wisemen in Washington will be able to make better decisions about which industries, technologies, and companies are critical to our country's future welfare than the marketplace.

Last week I had a chance to spend several hours with Rob Shapiro of the Progressive Policy Institute, a Washington spend tank. Mr. Shapiro is a longtime member of Clinton's inner circle, and is being touted as a possible OMB Director in a Clinton Administration. I have to admit going into the meeting as a skeptic. By the end of the meeting my skepticism was gone—I was terrified.

The Clinton philosophy is in sharp contrast to traditional approaches to setting economic policy. Conservatives, such as Ronald Reagan, take a hands-off, free-market approach. Old-fashioned liberals, like Johnson, Carter, Mondale, and Dukakis, advocate hands-all-over-you policies. Clinton's approach, which his advisors actually call "the third way," is to *use the government as a catalyst* to provide workers and firms with access to "the common resources of production." *"Once that access has been achieved, the government steps back,"* Shapiro said (and I'll swear he said it with a straight face).

Thus, in a very important sense, Clintonomics is a radical departure from traditional Democratic thinking. *Clinton is the first Democratic candidate since the 1930s whose economic program is not based on Keynesian demand management.*

Mr. Rutledge, an economist, is chairman of Rutledge & Co., a merchant bank in Greenwich, Connecticut.

Clinton's emphasis on using taxes, subsidies, and credits to induce changes in business behavior is somewhat reminiscent of supply-side, incentive-based thinking. *But Clinton's policies rely on the dark side of supply-side thinking.* They attempt to manipulate market prices in order to engineer a social or economic outcome the private market would not otherwise produce.

In this sense, Governor Clinton's policies are potentially much more disruptive than those of Jimmy Carter, who explicitly rejected the market mechanism when dealing with the economy (remember price, wage, and credit controls?). Carter's policies shut markets down, bringing about sudden financial crises, which ultimately forced the government to revert to the market mechanism. Clinton policies, if he gets the chance to implement them, will *distort market outcomes*, which could impede economic performance for a long time.

In a market economy, the most important role of prices is as a *communication system* to transmit the information that each of us needs to organize our daily economic lives. This is a massive undertaking. Committees of wisemen, regardless of their Nobel Prize count, just don't know enough to decide which industries or which companies are more important to our future than others. Once they start tinkering with prices, they cease to be reliable indicators of wants and scarcities, and economies break down, as they did in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

Similarly, Clinton's tax policy is not an economic policy so much as a social policy designed to reallocate the burden of taxation from low- to high-income taxpayers. They will add a new tax bracket (36 to 38 per cent), raise the alternative minimum tax for individuals, and add a 10 per cent surtax for incomes over $1 million. The Clinton team hopes to collect $20 billion per year in new revenues from the increase in the top rate alone. *They do not believe these people will take evasive action. The slow-thinking millionaires will simply hand over their wallets to the government.*

Tax policy also plays a crucial role in setting interest rates. Higher marginal tax rates reduce the after-tax income on security investments relative to investments in property and other tangible assets. Changes in relative after-tax returns thus will induce private investors to attempt to rebalance their $48-trillion portfolio of assets—to try to sell securities in favor of real assets, much as they did in the 1970s. This may be good news for property investors, but it is bad news for the security markets, pushing interest rates higher and stock prices lower.

But the most destructive element of the Clinton program is taxes on capital. Clinton is opposed to a cut in the capital-gains rate because it would benefit owners of the existing capital stock. Instead, he intends to target lower capital-gains rates for *new businesses only*. In the first place, there is no difference between new capital and old capital in today's restructuring-driven international marketplace. Capital today is almost totally fungible. The Clinton people are going to be surprised how fast people can turn old businesses into new ones if the price is right.

Clinton's policy misses the point of lowering capital-gains rates in the first place. Lower capital-gains taxes attract capital by improving the after-tax return on capital deployed in the United States, *relative to returns available in other countries*. It doesn't matter who owns it—it matters who gets to use it to create wealth. We need to win the international competition for capital to give American workers the tools to raise productivity and living standards. But how do you explain that to someone like Rob Shapiro, who actually says that, to the extent that rates of return on capital matter at all, it is pre-tax returns that count?

No wonder I'm getting that sinking feeling we all remember from the Carter days. —JOHN RUTLEDGE of the economy and human behavior. In 1929 Irving Fisher of Yale, perhaps the leading economist of the day, said: "Fulfillment of the pledges by the nation's business leaders . . . that wages will not be reduced . . . should suffice to bridge across the business recession." John Maurice Clark of Columbia called Hoover's high-wage policy "a great experiment in constructive industrial statesmanship."

As World War II wound down and the government began cutting spending and moving to a budget surplus from a huge budget deficit, economists were near unanimous in predicting double-digit unemployment. The reality? The unemployment rate in the three years after the war never reached 4 per cent on an annual basis. In the early 1980s, noted economists such as Paul Samuelson and James Tobin monumentally mispredicted, forecasting continued stagflation. So did the big new economic consulting firms with their econometric models which corporations paid millions to receive—the most egregious example of market failure in modern times.

As we contemplate policy initiatives in the new Administration to combat economic stagnation, remember that historical experience says new governmental initiatives are certain, in the long run, to cause more harm than good. □

Taking Sides

HERE NOW, THE NEWS . . .

What happens when the umpire picks up a bat and glove? Ask George Bush.

LORRIN ANDERSON

Good evening.

More bad news today for the American people—and another jolt for the shrill re-election campaign of George Herbert Hoover Bush. For the third straight month unemployment declined only slightly, and experts say the few local signs of economic recovery cannot mask the spreading calamity. "In many ways, it's worse than the depths of the Great Depression," said one prominent economist with ties to the Administration, who spoke on condition that he not be identified. The gulf between rich and poor continues to widen, as the middle class is squeezed, the rich reap the benefits of the Republican ascendance, and the nation is stuck with a staggering bill for the excesses of the Eighties.

The President stopped ducking debates, finally, but he has failed to deliver the knockout punch his handlers saw as his last hope. Dan Quayle, on the other hand—starting to look more like a menace than a joke—may have scored a few points with his manic assault on Al Gore.

President Bush's transparent attempt to divert the voters' attention by harping on "family values" has seemingly gotten him nowhere. Despite the smears thrown at Governor Clinton under the guise of the "character" issue, and despite the gratuitous attacks on his progressive wife, the moderate "New Democrat" maintains his lead in the polls, in large part, experts say, because of popular revulsion at the ugly, hate-filled GOP Convention. As the conservative analyst Kevin Phillips points out, the Bush campaign's attempt to divide us by bashing gays, blacks, working women, and single mothers has backfired.

The President, meanwhile, obstinately refuses to produce a cure for AIDS, pointing hollowly to the expenditure of $4 billion a year while failing to provide what's really needed, leadership that meets the moral standards of Magic Johnson. Saddam Hussein sits coddled and cocky in Baghdad. And hurricanes, drought, skin cancer, and toxic waste stalk our fragile, dying planet, mainly, most experts say, because of the President's lofty disdain for environmental peril.

WELL, OK, it's exaggerated. But not, in thrust or in tone, one whole hell of a lot—not that much different from the message sent out day after day, night after night, by the Evening News and the *New York Times*. There are pockets of journalistic honesty, and occasional partisanship in the other direction, notably on talk radio. But while that partisanship is labeled and open, the spear-carriers for the Democrats, on the networks and in the news columns of the quality press, march out in solemn masks of judicious neutrality.

The economy is indeed an eminently legitimate issue, perhaps the main one. The blatantly tendentious reporting, is something else again. Conservatives might argue that George Bush does deserve a lot of blame, for breaking the tax pledge and for going along with—sometimes even promoting—quotas and onerous new regulatory laws that tend to hobble business, especially small business. But that is emphatically not a critique you often hear on the networks, where the read-my-lips reminder is ubiquitous, but almost always to show duplicity, not dubious economics.

Bryant Gumbel, on NBC's *Today*: "Republicans in Houston may be trying to shift attention to family values and foreign affairs, but this year's presidential election hinges on the economy, so we asked Mike Jensen, our chief financial correspondent, to prepare an economic report card."

And on to Mike and the report card, a well-cobbled amalgam of graphics, file footage, and statistics, with an unequivocal conclusion, at top and bot-

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Mr. Anderson, a veteran of United Press, the Minneapolis Tribune, *Agence France-Presse, and the* Washington Post, *is a former editor and producer for WNBC-TV in New York. He would like to thank the Media Research Center and its director, Brent Baker, for valuable assistance.*

tom: Bush's economic record is "far and away" the worst of any postwar President. God knows Bush's record is nothing to write home to Adam Smith about. But Jensen focused *exclusively* on areas where Bush comes off the worst, like job growth, where "the Carter Administration did the best." The *Carter* Administration? Double-digit inflation? Twenty per cent interest rates? Stagflation? No mention. No mention of current low interest rates.

Major Media Stylebook

SCOOP! NATIONAL REVIEW has obtained a copy of *Tagging the News: The Index to Correct Opinion*, which, we have learned, is widely circulated in newsrooms. Recipients, according to an informant who has contacted *NR*, can suggest additions or corrections. A Central Committee, made up of John Chancellor of NBC, Peter Jennings of ABC, Johnny Apple of the *New York Times*, David Broder of the *Washington Post*, and Al Hunt of the *Wall Street Journal*, meets periodically and incorporates the best suggestions into the new edition.

Our copy was mailed to us anonymously, by a disgruntled reporter who disapproves of what he calls the "media mind patrol." What is amazing is that its existence has been kept secret for so long. Asked for his comment, L. Brent Bozell of the Media Research Center in Alexandria, Va., said: "We suspected that something like this existed, but it's good to get confirmation." A spokesperson at the Justice Department's Antitrust Division said she had not heard of the document and "could not say" if it had antitrust implications.

"Only by constant iteration can alien truths be impressed upon reluctant minds." —*Herbert Spencer*

abortion. Nobody likes it; Republicans divided over it; a private matter; a woman's choice; our next civil war.

AIDS. Does not discriminate; hits the poor and minorities hardest; we are all at risk; no magic cure; outlook grim; disease of Reagan–Bush years.

AIDS epidemic. Mention ravages of it; losing the war against it

AIDS research. Underfunded.

American dream. On hold.

anti-Communists. Looking for new enemies.

Baker, James. Rode to the rescue; (obs.); master political strategist (obs.); AWOL.

balanced budget. No magic formula; Reagan–Bush never submitted one; (if one is submitted): dead on arrival.

bastions. (Use of suburbs, all-male clubs.)

black crime. Blacks main victims of it.

Brady, Nick. Competent; conservatives out to get him.

Buchanan, Pat. Divisive; wants to build wall around country, turn back clock.

budget cuts. Always Draconian; gut programs; hit poor hardest.

budget deficit. Country's most serious problem; mortgage on America.

Bush, George. Exploited Willie Horton issue in 1988 campaign; promised us a kinder, gentler America; practices sound-bite politics; rootless; has Jennifer problem, too; not an agent of change; frenetic.

California. Biggest prize; dream fades.

catastrophe. Planet headed for it unless we change course.

categories. Renounce easy ones.

checks and balances. (obs.) (See: *gridlock.*)

children's future. Mortgaged.

choice. A woman's right.

choices. Bush avoids hard ones.

Clinton, Bill. Character flaws (obs.); has Gennifer problem (obs.); Slick Willie (obs.); comeback kid; redefined himself; puts people first; wants to invest, not spend; adult life spent in public service.

Clinton–Gore. Handsome duo; articulate baby-boomers.

Clinton, Hillary. Bakes chocolate-chip cookies; sensational mind; target of right-wing attacks; mention distortion of her views; new Willie Horton.

consensus. Old one has broken down.

conservatives. Feel betrayed by Bush.

Constitution. Living document.

Cuomo, Mario. Son of struggling Italian immigrants; eloquent; next Supreme Court Justice.

Darman, Dick. Budget czar; brainy; crunches numbers; works harder than anyone else.

democracies. Invest in emerging ones.

democracy. Details of it messy; denounce phone-in version.

Democrats. Remade themselves; pledged change; embraced moderate platform.

despair. Pervasive feeling of it in inner cities.

Disabilities Act. Brought 43 million Americans into economic mainstream.

Draco. Athenian statesman. (See: *budget cuts.*)

economy. Worst since Great Depression (attribute to Governor Pete Wilson).

Europe. Dream of a united one still lives.

families. Come in all shapes and sizes.

family values. Willie Horton issue of 1992; code phrase for exclusion and prejudice.

federal judges. Under Reagan–Bush, ideologically screened.

Flowers, Gennifer. Daughter of Willie Horton.

formulas. No magic ones.

for-profit education. McSchools.

future. We should invest in our children's.

gains. Religious activists try to limit gay ones.

gay bashing. Resurgent; vicious hate crime among teenagers.

gay pride. Celebrate it.

gays. Under fire; face ugly backlash; next Willie Horton.

Gingrich, Newt. Negative campaigner; brought Congress into disrepute.

global cooling. (obs.) (See: *greenhouse effect.*)

global leadership. U.S. abdicated it at Rio.

God. Republicans tell us which one to believe in. (Cuomo!)

Mr. Bethell, an NR *Contributing Editor, is the Washington correspondent for* The American Spectator.

No mention of low inflation until a closing colloquy with Gumbel, when Jensen noted that inflation has been under control only "because the economy has been so weak." And in case any learning-disabled voter out there missed the message, Gumbel summed up: "The bottom line—the worst economic performance of any postwar President."

Jensen: "That's it."

And that's the drill: top play for any

GOP. Battle for the soul of it; platform tilts to the right.

Gorbachev, Mikhail. World leader; changed history.

Gore, Al. Raised to be President; environmental vision; centrist message; shaped by near-death of son.

government. Gridlocked; still has important role to play; all too easy to blame.

greenhouse effect. Most serious threat we have ever faced (poss. obs.).

gridlock. (See: *government.*)

hate. The Right spews it; Republicans practice politics of it.

higher office. More women running for it.

Hill, Anita. Women believe her.

homophobia. Mental sickness, or moral failing; caused by right-wing hate.

Horton, Willie. Exploited by George Bush in 1988 campaign.

House of Representatives. Election of President might be thrown into it (obs.); Newt Gingrich tried to bring it into disrepute.

ideology. Voters are tired of it.

inclusion. Democrats practice politics of it.

infidelity. Sleazy charges of it against Bill Clinton.

investment. Clinton would increase it.

Johnson, Magic. National hero; teaches nation's youth; unbowed by HIV.

Judiciary Committee. All-male; women disgusted with its treatment of Anita Hill.

Justice Kennedy. Grew.

Justice Souter. Grew.

Justice Thomas. Failed to grow.

Kennedy, Edward. Unmatched legislative record; dream lives on.

Kerner Report. Nothing has changed since it.

labels. Reject them; old ones don't mean anything.

liberal. Not a scary label any more. (See: *labels*).

litmus test. (Use with caution; consult your editor. Bush is not allowed to have one for his Court appointees, but Clinton does have one.)

Los Angeles riots. Mention pervasive feeling of powerlessness and despair; carnival atmosphere; root causes: racism, poverty.

men. Still don't get it.

middle class. Politicians pander to it; Clinton–Gore appeal to it (speak to your editor if in doubt).

morality. Ask whose is to be imposed.

name-calling. Won't work any more. (See: *liberal.*)

New York City. Still vibrant; next Willie Horton.

Nineteen-eighties. Decade of greed.

Nineteen-sixties. Era of optimism; time of compassion.

ozone hole. Legacy of greed.

ozone layer. Atmosphere losing it.

pandering. Middle-class tax cuts face accusations of it.

Perot, Ross. Texas billionaire; Rorschach blot, wild card, launched on *Larry King Live*, talk-show candidate (obs.); quitter (obs.); still a player.

personal responsibility. Calls for it have Willie Horton overtones.

Phillips, Kevin. Conservative analyst.

policies. Haven't failed—haven't been tried.

poor. Get poorer, hit hardest; ask if America's traditional compassion for them is wearing thin.

population growth. Imperils the planet.

poverty. Statistics of it soaring; root cause of riots.

privilege. Suburbs, all-male clubs bastions of it. (See: *suburbs*; *bastions.*)

Quayle, Dan. Draws chuckles; still lives in *Ozzie and Harriet* world; can't spell potato; blames elites and comes from rich family of newspaper owners; divisive; mention Spiro Agnew.

racial fears. Code words appeal to them.

rage. Always legitimate, in contrast to hate (qv).

Reagan, Ronald. Frightening (obs.); genial (obs.).

Reagan years. Excesses of them have names: Milken, Boesky & Trump.

Republicans. Help their rich friends.

right wing. Bush caves in to it.

rising tide. In 1980s, failed to lift all boats.

Rodney King videotape. Seventy-five seconds etched into the nation's consciousness.

school choice. Code phrase for racism.

solutions. Renounce simplistic, silver-bullet, or Band-Aid ones.

Souljah, Sister. No Willie Horton.

species. Vanishing.

spotted owls. Endangered by greed.

states. Financially strapped.

statistics. Of AIDS epidemic, always grim.

suburbs. Edge cities; faceless; Ross Perot country; homogeneous; bastions of: wealth, racism, privilege, gun-owners.

system. Worked in Watergate; still needs fixing; tinkering will not fix it.

tent. GOP should be a big one.

tropical forest. Acre of it vanishes every second.

Truman, Harry. Knew who he was.

two major parties. Mention decline of them (obs.).

United States. World's largest debtor nation; becoming a talk-show nation.

vision. Demand planetary one.

voters. (Before election) disaffected; (after election) have spoken.

wallet. (See: *will.*)

Washington. Gridlocked.

Watergate. The system worked.

will. Contrast with wallet, in saving our cities.

women. Empowered; note their growing role in politics; can't be judged by their recipes; historic year for them; face growing AIDS risk.

yachts. The rich got bigger ones in 1980s.

Yeltsin, Boris. Still a question mark.

—TOM BETHELL

and every piece of bad news, almost always with pointed reminders of how politically devastating this is for the Republicans. And the game you might call Look for the Leaden Lining. Thus Jensen's explanation that the only reason for low inflation is a weak economy. And thus Peter Jennings, in a squib on a rise in productivity: Productivity goes up because "with so many people being laid off, those left with jobs have to work harder."

Day after day and night after night. With a wink and a nod and a *straight face* as they tell us about spin doctors. And it feeds on itself. Not everyone out there will buy the doomsday message, but inevitably it colors public perceptions. So the pollsters find out that the voters think the only issue is the economy and everything is terrible and Bush is to blame, and the polls and the selective vox-pop sound bites and the sob stories, which even in boom times you can always find if that's what you're looking for, circle back to the anchors and reporters and they can say, "See, it's not us, it's you—the American people telling it like it is."

"Clinton Offers Hand as Bush Bares Fist"—that was a front-page headline in the *New York Times*, teasing an inside story that called a Bush tax-and-spend attack on Clinton "a bare-fisted effort to sow fear among voters." You will wait in vain for the *Times* to use similar language to describe, say, the Clinton radio ad accusing Bush of planning to gut Social Security and Medicare. But, then, Democratic scare tactics don't qualify as "negative," just as Democratic attempts to whip up class envy and resentment are not "divisive."

There are many ways to lie, in print and on television, without technically departing from the facts. Tone and language, emphasis, the way you paraphrase, dishonest omission, selection of quotes or sound bites, placement to give one side or the other the last word.

Bias?

"That's really kind of silly. Most of us are professionals."—Nina Totenberg, NPR.

"You do your job, and you remember that bias is in the eye of the beholder."—Andrea Mitchell, NBC.

You do your job, and one of the most exciting—not to say rewarding—parts is that you get to be part of a star search, for the Willie Horton of 1992. Andrea Mitchell blazes the trail: Family Values. That's it, family values. Although the wedge issue could be the L.A. riots and the Great Society. Or possibly—I wonder—Clinton's medical plan? But that gets into how you're going to pay for it—no, let's keep it family values. No! roars the *New York Times*, "The new Willie Horton is New York City." And on. And on. Gays. The New Woman. Hillary.

Nowhere was the media assault on the Republicans more concerted, more ferocious, than at the Convention in Houston, transformed before our eyes into a Nuremberg rally. I'm sort of partial to NBC because I used to work there, and one meeting of the minds, on the *Today Show*, remains a personal favorite: Katie Couric presided over a panel made up of the *Wall Street Journal*'s Al ("You're a neo-fascist!") Hunt, Andrea ("Willie Horton! Willie Horton!") Mitchell, and Tim Russert, the former counselor to Mario Cuomo who now serves as the impartial moderator of *Meet the Press*.

KATIE: "So negative, negative. Tax-and-spend Democrats. We are America and the Democrats are not. Hillary Clinton's a radical feminist. Al Gore's a tree-hugger—are these the things we're going to be hearing between now and November, Andrea?"

ANDREA: "Exactly. The conservatives have taken over this convention—a lot of fundamentalist Christian evangelicals in the delegations—but the moderates feel very left out. . . ."

TIM: "An extraordinary 48 hours. It's attack and apologize, the political version of Miss Piggy—'Who me?' Every time they get caught saying something unkind or unwholesome or even mean-spirited—I mean I used to be a lawyer . . . and this entire convention has been criminal lawyers trying to sneak in evidence or hearsay to the jury box and they've been quite effective in doing it."

And lo, Ronald Reagan is magically transfigured, now that he's *hors de combat* and not that crazy about Bush. No longer the heartless Neanderthal of the Eighties but a shining leader of the Good Conservatives in a Manichean struggle with the Hard Right, as the Moderates march off to a hell fashioned by Pat Buchanan and evangelicals, who are MEAN MOTHERS.

TIM: "You're so right—the politics of hope against the politics of hate. It couldn't be clearer."

To quote the freelance writer Mark Helprin, who covered the GOP Convention, "of the 15,000 in the press, who outnumber delegates by almost 7 to 1, it is probably safe to say that 14,992 are Democrats. Thus, Republicans may compare themselves to a gathering of ducks at which 85 per cent in attendance are duck hunters."

Slightly hyperbolic. But a lot of the hunters don't even bother to put up a blind any more.

"Has the party gone far right enough for you? I mean there's the gay-bashing . . ."—Connie Chung to Pat Robertson.

"Voters see women as agents of change and they're asking for change—they don't see guys like you."—Maria Shriver to California Senate candidates John Seymour and Bruce Herschensohn.

Cautionary Voices

AS USUAL, generalizations have their limits. Whatever the charges of a pervasive left-wing bias on PBS, most of them probably true, *MacNeil/Lehrer* is in my view a national resource—and not only for its depth of coverage. The personal political views of MacNeil and Lehrer are actually hard to discern from the way they conduct the show. Not that the production as a whole isn't slanted gently, or not so gently, to the left. House "conservative" David Gergen is a guy who seems to have "grown" since he was Ronald Reagan's Communications Director—so obviously eager to avoid being thought a mossback by his Beltway buddies that he's often indistinguishable from his Democratic counterpart, Mark Shields.

Occasionally a cautionary voice is raised on television itself: ABC's Brit Hume, hardly a shill for the Republicans, has spoken of the media's "extraordinary ability" to achieve "almost a Victorian level of shock at some of the [Republican] rough-and-ready stuff. . . . "Nobody was similarly shocked when Maxine Waters, for example, called George Bush a 'racist.' . . . It seems that when the Democrats play rough-and-tumble politics like the Republicans have in the past, we all say, 'See, they really want to win' and how smart it is. And the Republicans do and we all say, 'Well, it's dirty politics, it's negative campaigning and we should disapprove of it.' "

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—GEORGE F. WILL

Bridges and Rickenbacker are "free-spirited teachers" who "take us on a romp through Writing 401. This is no primer for beginners. This is the stuff of graduate school, the way graduate school ought to be."

—JAMES J. KILPATRICK

At long last, a *real* guide to writing, from the very magazine that's renowned for its stylishness. Bursting with simple, sensible, concrete techniques to improved writing, **The Art of Persuasion**—"laid down" by *NR*'s own Linda Bridges and William F. Rickenbacker—is definitely something you'll want to have, for yourself and/or that kinsman, friend, student or business associate.

Sure, there are already dozens of manuals that have claimed (for *years*) to teach you how to write. But here at NATIONAL REVIEW, we see what they've wrought: a large percentage of current high school students who can *barely* write letters, a generation of college graduates (and some professors!) whose prose is often impenetrable and torturous (never mind ungrammatical!), etc.

So *NR* decided to create something long overdue: a *useful* writing guide for the intelligent person—who knows the grammatical rules of the language, but who has been henpecked by writing "experts" into hatching dull prose.

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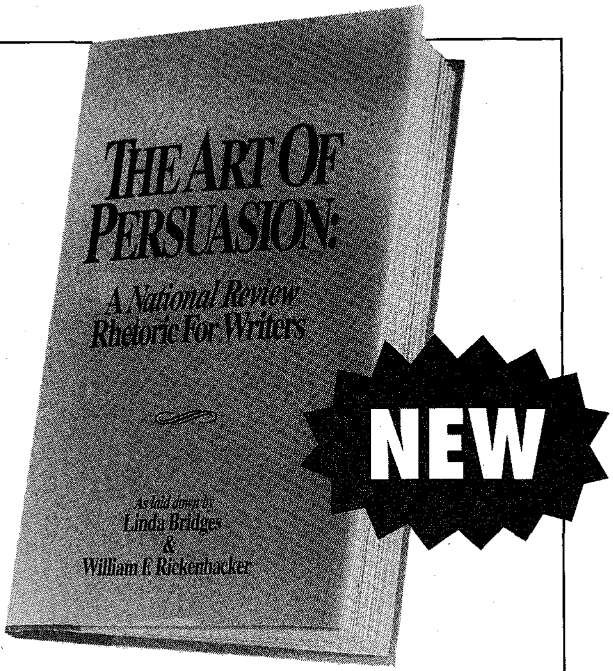


But that's apostasy. John Chancellor summed things up in his commentary on October 14—a scathing catalogue of the sins of 1988, all of them Republican of course, and a satisfied observation that not only have the Democrats learned to be "quick counter-punchers," but the Fourth Estate, bless it, "decided to do a better job this year." So the "arguments and ads of both [*sic*] parties are being much more carefully scrutinized and criticized," to help the voters cultivate their "political antibodies." "The weeds that are clogging the Republican presidential machine in 1992 were planted in 1988." Bravo! Ron Brown couldn't have said it better.

Allergic to Republicans

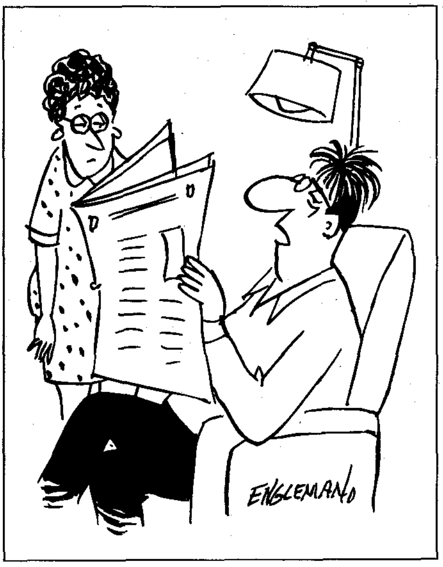
THE FACT is that many of the reporters and editors and producers who shape American political perceptions just don't like Republicans much. It's visceral. I think I understand it because I used to share it, before age and experience clouded my preconceptions.

Whatever their social origins, these are privileged and prosperous people, the media spin doctors, many of them far richer in both bucks and social status than your average Republican convention delegate. Dan Rather, who once said (of Barbara Walters) that no one in the news business is worth a million dollars, pulled in more than three million last year, and it's not even the Decade of Greed any more.

While they pay ostentatious lip-service to "the beleaguered middle class," it's also quite clear that most of the news people find middle-class and lower-middle-class types rather distasteful in the flesh—the Republican variety, anyway, especially if they are attracted to the likes of Pat Buchanan. So the sympathies of these American aristocrats, possibly a tad defensive about their own inordinate affluence, turn, in a not unfamiliar syndrome, to the downtrodden ethnic minorities and the noble poor, from whom, in real life, they are likely to be rather more insulated than the recalcitrant bourgeois they scorn as yahoos. And noblesse oblige: John Chancellor once described himself admiringly on the air as "the people's surrogate." When you can cloak your own political opinions in the plain clothes of a latter-day Quaker, speaking truth to power—from your own powerful pulpit—it makes pressing for a particular point of view more comfortable all around.

"When you hear yourself held up, as you were at the Republican Convention—some people have used the word 'demonized'—does it make you hurt or make you mad?"—Jane Pauley to Hillary Clinton.

So tell us, ladies and gentlemen of the press, how the Hard Right conjures up demons: single mothers, working mothers, gays, blacks, Hillary Clinton. Don't bother about any fine distinction between gay-bashing and reservations about special, lawsuit-inviting group rights for homosexuals. Don't bother to note that Barbara Bush and Dan Quayle and even Quayle's wife, that Lady Macbeth, make a point of saying it's fine for women to combine career and family if that's what they want—or have—to do, that nobody's painting a scarlet S on single parenthood. Demonization? If anybody wears a demon's horns and tail, in the media, it's the "Christian Right," the "Hard Right," and to a large extent Republicans in general—which is odd, coming from people who in other contexts congratulate themselves on their reverence for diversity of opinion.



"I wish I could get as excited over this election as the media are."

For intellectual content the best speech of the convention came from former Education Secretary William Bennett as he nominated Dan Quayle: a brilliant exposition and defense of the social views at the heart of the Republican argument. The ideas—cultural conflict, the social utility of traditional values—weren't all that different from Pat Buchanan's, but expressed without the harshness of Buchanan, with generosity and an emphasis on the freedom of Americans to live and behave as they please, within very broad limits.

The speech did get some good reviews in the TV coverage the same night and, later, in the print press, mostly from conservative columnists. But our Newspaper of Record all but ignored it—no excerpts, not even a mention in the next day's voluminous *Times* news coverage. Only a passing (though positive) reference in a Kevin Sack piece about Quayle two days later, and dishonorable mention on an editorial enemies list of "divisive and occasionally savage" convention speakers. Bennett, the *Times* said, had "inveighed" against " 'rampant promiscuity.' " Clearly a divisive insult to the Promiscuous Community.

So the Bush campaign, fighting a two-front war against both the Democrats and the news media, suffers a recurring loss of nerve, sounding retreat, time and again, from themes that are not necessarily, as Ann Richards might put it, dogs that won't hunt. Like "family values."

"Let your fears and hatreds be your guide. Invoke God to justify them." Why, it's Anna Quindlen, back on the *Times* op-ed page after her vacation, and not a moment too soon, distilling the Republican essence and sharing the anguish she felt as she watched the Convention. "They flogged this package they called family values. And you could almost hear millions of folks saying, 'Guys, we'll take care of the values if you take care of the economy.' "

Anna Quindlen, the Pulitzer Prize–winner, epitomizes the prevailing media mindset, and in this case she's being either dumb or disingenuous. Because "values"—and not just things like the work ethic—obviously have a great deal to do with the economy as well as the overall health of society. Illegitimacy, for instance, is an excellent predictor of poverty, with a high correlation to other social ills like crime. There is seldom any acknowledgment, in the media, that conservatives who raise the issue might actually care about the kids involved, as well as about the broader social and economic issues.

(Continues on page 69)

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Will Power

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

GEORGE WILL ends his new book by quoting from the letter dispatched to Sara Ballou on July 14, 1861, by her husband: “Sarah my love for you is deathless, it seems to bind me with mighty cables that nothing but Omnipotence could break; and yet my love of Country comes over me like a strong wind and bears me unresistibly on with all these chains to the battle field.” Major Ballou, who one week later died at Bull Run, makes plain earlier in his letter that his devotion to his “country” was also a devotion to “the Government.” “I know how strongly American Civilization now leans on the triumph of the Government, and how great a debt we owe to those who went before us . . . And I am willing—perfectly willing—to lay down all my joys in this life, to help maintain this Government, and to pay that debt.”

Restoration: Congress, Term Limits, and the Recovery of Deliberative Democracy, by George F. Will (Free Press, 260 pp., $19.95)

It is George Will's point that a country to be loved must also sustain lovely institutions, and that our own government has, by the public reckoning, become emphatically unlovely. This is true for all the reasons that correctly animate anti-statist sentiment, reasons well understood by the Framers. They endeavored to protect the citizenry against omnipotent government by giving us a Bill of Rights, a separation of powers, and enumerated duties of government. But with the growth of government power and the advent of the rhetorical Presidency things began to get out of hand, and today a measure of the institutional imbalance is the deification of the office of the President (why?), and a corresponding diminution in respect for Congress (for this, the reasons are plain). What torments the American people is that their respect for Congress diminishes even as, year after year, they return to the voting booths and send back to office the same people who have engendered this disrespect. “Dignity is in the eye of the beholder, and few who behold Congress today consider it dignified. To some extent, Americans are judging Congress severely to avoid judging themselves at all. It may be that the nation today is faithfully portrayed in Congress the way Dorian Gray was portrayed in his portrait.”

Alan Nahigian

We are all familiar with recorded examples of legislative corruption, but George Will has lined up a few mephitic samples that linger in the nostrils of disgust. He introduces you first to the idea of bureaucratic explosion: “When Lincoln founded it, the Department of Agriculture had one employee for every 227,000 farms. In 1900, it had one employee for every 1,694 farms. Today, it has one employee for every 16 farms.” We are given examples of the frame of mind of the modern legislator. Representative Patricia Schroeder wants the Federal Government to pay for Midnight Basketball for the urban dispossessed. How so? “She is just doing what people do in Congress and in other legislatures. They get up in the morning, shower, shave or apply their make-up, commute to work, pop open their briefcases, pour a cup of coffee and start spending other people's money.” Thus we have appropriations bills funding a study of the handling of manure ($37,000); a Stuttgart, Arkansas, fish farm ($542,000); a recycling facility in Susquehanna, Pennsylvania ($1 million); Houston's “Better-Bus” system ($15 million); a study of Afognak Island in Arkansas ($250,000); “and thousands of other projects.”

Now even if every representative and senator were to serve only a single term there would be pork, but it is difficult to suppose it would extend to such lengths as are now accepted as routine. Senator Byrd of West Virginia promised his constituents that he would import over a billion federal dollars into his state. As chairman of the Appropriations Committee he managed to do this in no time at all, by among other things the simple expedient of moving fifty-thousand-odd families resident in Virginia, Washington, and Maryland—to West Virginia: this involved, among other things, moving almost the entire Central Intelligence Agency.

Now one engages in such activity in order to please constituents who are expected to return you to office. This is the modern imperative in Congress, because for incumbent legislators, defeat “means not just oblivion, but annihilation.” There are several means of effecting re-election. The most spectacularly crooked is the gerrymander, and George Will gives us five wonderful pages which, without the captions, would strike the reader as Rorschach tests conducted in an asylum. In order to generate the necessary support for such districts it becomes necessary to lay out other districts that will elect minority-group representatives, but of course this is a disincentive to a truly integrated society, and we cannot hope to pull this off indefinitely, because “in such a society, not even the cleverest computer program could gather blacks (or Hispanics, or any other group) into a district where they are a majority. Imagine . . . creating a district for twenty-year-olds, and you'll begin to understand the problem."

Pork, the gerrymandered district, and of course the extravagant use of the congressional frank: "The $10.5 million spent by members just in the last three weeks of 1991 equaled *all* the money raised in 1991 by *all* non-incumbent candidates for House seats." And, in 1990, 96.5 per cent of incumbents who sought re-election were re-elected; 178 congressmen had served for 12 years or more. One hundred years ago, the corresponding figure was 23. We have come a long way from Article VIII of the Declaration of Rights in the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, which declared that citizens have a right to expect "public officers to return to private life" "in order to prevent those, who are vested with authority, from becoming oppressors." A long way from George Washington, who voluntarily stepped down from the Presidency after two terms, and Thomas Jefferson who left after his second term and never again laid eyes on Washington.

IT IS Will's position not that all will go well if we have term limitation (he favors a maximum of two terms for a senator, six for a congressman), but that things will go much better because the frame of mind of the legislators will be more conducive to deliberation, which tends to diminish as careerism increases. "Enacting term limits is an exercise of popular sovereignty in order to make a small excision from the sweep of popular sovereignty. It is a decision by the majority to limit, a little bit, pure majority rule." And then, "if term limits are un-American because they limit popular sovereignty, then so, too, is the First Amendment un-American." Representative Dennis Eckart, who decided last year not to run again for re-election, counted 45 trips during one year to his constituency in northeastern Ohio, for the purpose not of discussing public issues with his constituents, but of ensuring his re-election by being a fixture at picnics and dinners and fair-openings. Representative Charles Vanik listed nine concerns that take precedence over a congressman's deliberation: "The deliberative time is such time as is required to see how someone else voted," he says. But if there is to be deliberation, what is its purpose?

Will here walks with great care (in his book *Statecraft as Soulcraft* he was less cautious). But he does so surefootedly, addressing a thesis central to his political philosophy, as much so as self-evidently it was to Major Ballou when he wrote to his incipient widow. The Framers cannot reasonably be thought to have promulgated a Constitution devoid of values. Harvey Mansfield "correctly says that the Constitution has an explanatory power." For one thing we know from the *Federalist Papers* that it was the purpose of the three most articulate men who ever joined together to endorse a *modus operandi* for government to promote virtue, for the reason that in the absence of a virtuous citizenry, self-government fails. Four score seven years after the Founders gave us the Declaration of Independence, Abraham Lincoln was wondering out loud "whether" government of, by, and *for* the people would endure; and he would tell his young secretary John Hay on the day after the Gettysburg Address that his intentions were not rhetorical but simply inquisitive. If self-government worked, it must be because the people who elect representatives will do so to further the commonweal. For a long time it became accepted, even among many conservatives, that the sum total of the citizen's votes for his own self-interest transmuted into a beneficent General Will. It is not so, and if you doubt this, look around you.

The Framers were not plebiscitarians, far from it. "When occasions present themselves in which the interests of the people are at variance with their inclinations," the *Federalist* tell us, "it is the duty of the persons whom they have appointed to be the guardians of those interests, to withstand the temporary delusion, in order to give them time and opportunity for more cool and sedate reflection." Yes, the Founders were aware that a multiplicity of interests, like the separation of powers, was a guard against hegemonic power by a single faction; but it was never postulated that exclusive self-concern would by democratic alchemy create a just and a free society. "The Founders—and Madison was the subtlest of them—had more complicated aims than the mere avoidance of oppression. They also wanted a government with an 'aptitude and tendency' to behave more responsibly," is how George Will puts it.

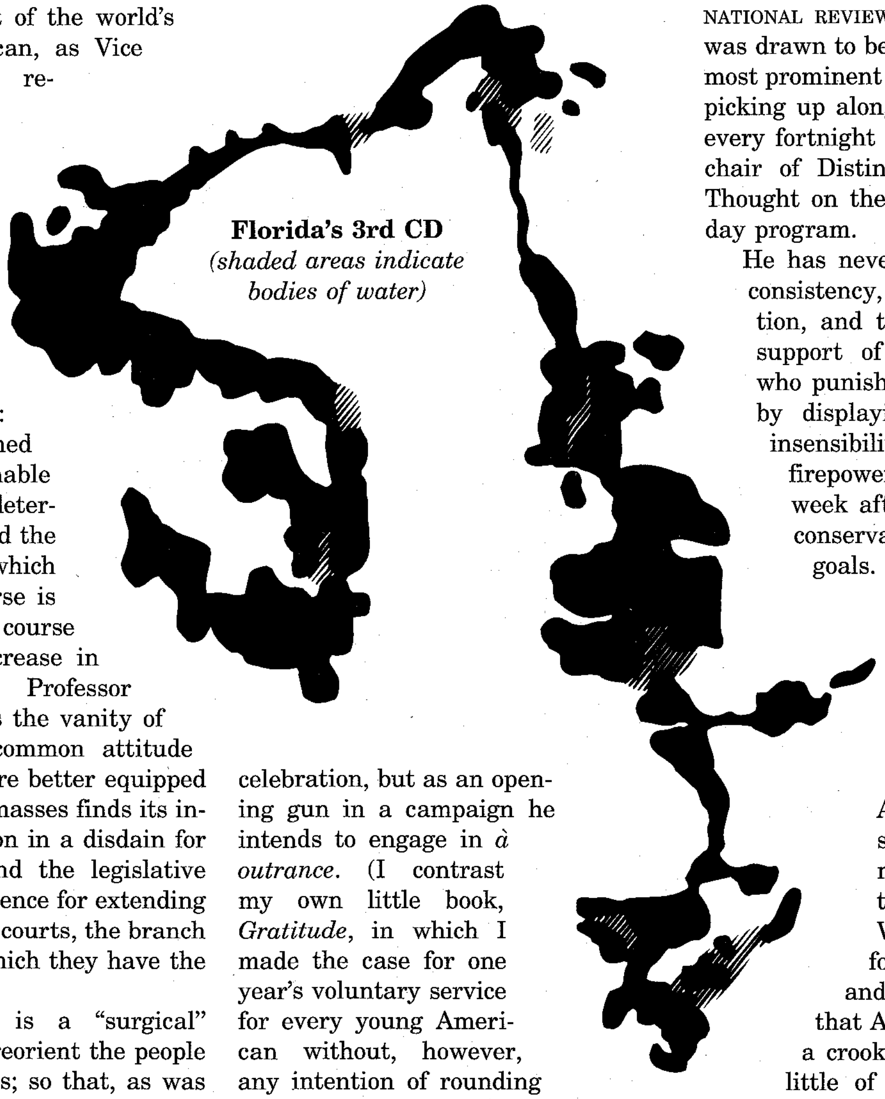
Now: Since the Constitution does not instruct Congress on how to use its power, it has got to depend on Congress to be amenable to reforms whose time has manifestly come. If it is demonstrable that our government is not working, then something needs to be done about it. And it is exactly at that point that we have arrived: our government is not working. And Americans are widely and gravely disillusioned with their failed government.

> Americans want to assume that their children can walk down safe streets to efficient schools. They can not assume that. A second reason government now seems impotent is its fiscal condition. Without entering the hot debate about the assignment of blame, the indisputable fact is that the government is out of money. Which is to say, it is "out of money" in the Washington way: Its supply of money is limited by its willingness and ability to borrow. A third reason for the government's perceived paralysis is intellectual. Many of America's most serious problems, such as the soaring cost and maldistribution of health care and the social regression of the urban underclass, are intractable simply because we do not understand them and do not know what to do next.

It is this disillusion with government that has created a chiliastic faith in the Presidency. Not ever, really, in the President: because no President can hope to be successful enough to satisfy the faith increasingly invested in him. Beginning with Theodore Roosevelt, and going on to richer and gaudier rhetorical effervescences, through Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the voters were encouraged to think delirious thoughts, and to think of the President as the entity "in power." With the anthropomorphization of the Presidency, made possible by radio and television, came a redistribution of political power. The idea that the government's authority should be limited to enumerated functions pretty well disappeared after Eisenhower. (Nobody, in my hearing—outside the offices of NATIONAL REVIEW—has asked: "What business is it of Congress to expedite the care of children while their mothers go off to work?") What happened was the accumulation of rhetorical reach in the Presidency, and effective power in the courts. This last development suited the intellectual elite. For one thing, it gave us a methodology that seemed to accommodate epistemological misgivings about the notion that when people vote only their self-interests, the land will brighten. George Will quotes Professor Mary Ann Glendon of the Harvard Law School, who in her book on the *Impoverishment of Political Discourse* makes the point that as the nation becomes more and more litigious (70 per cent of the world's lawyers are American, as Vice President Quayle reminded us), we look to extremist advocacy as a means of midwifing truths. "Courtroom law talk," Professor Glendon notes, "proceeds from a premise inimical to civil discourse: that two theses pushed to extremes will enable a third party to determine the truth." And the institutions before which such uncivil discourse is transacted are of course the courts. The increase in their power, says Professor Glendon, "reinforces the vanity of that class. Their common attitude that the educated are better equipped to govern than the masses finds its institutional expression in a disdain for ordinary politics and the legislative process and a preference for extending the authority of the courts, the branch of government to which they have the easiest access."

Term limitation is a "surgical" strike, designed to reorient the people we send to Congress; so that, as was for many generations the case, they will yield to a disposition to deliberate, in the knowledge that they will in due, finite time, return to their principal career; and that in the meantime, they can accept the burdens of stewardship, which include denying popular impulses. It is a movement, term limitation, that needs to be encouraged at three levels. At the level of state legislators, whose terms have now been limited in several states; by action aimed at congressmen and senators, even though there is the possibility that such action will be struck down by Congress, sustained by the Court; and finally by pressure for a constitutional amendment. Mr. Will reminds those who are discouraged by the length of the process that the typical constitutional amendment is ratified in one year and eight months.

RESTORATION is singular in several respects. George Will presents it not merely as an act of civic celebration, but as an opening gun in a campaign he intends to engage in *à outrance*. (I contrast my own little book, *Gratitude*, in which I made the case for one year's voluntary service for every young American without, however, any intention of rounding up light brigades to charge up the steep legislative hills of apathy and resistance to storm the enemy: I intended, I have to admit, nothing much more than a civic tone poem.) I predict that on behalf of this cause he will, having served as its primary strategist, undertake to advance it as a foot soldier.



Florida's 3rd CD
(shaded areas indicate bodies of water)

He has the special qualities necessary to engage sensitive public opinion. A few things need to be said about George Will, and the first of these is that he is the most under-celebrated benefactor of the conservative movement in my lifetime. He is for one thing a surpassingly brilliant polemicist, and the sheer artistry of his work should command attention and respect from everyone in general agreement with the lay of his mind; and should do so even among those who deplore the uses to which he puts his talents. No one writing regularly was sharper than he on the Communist question, beginning (I proudly recall) when he took on the job of Washington editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, from which post he was drawn to become very quickly the most prominent columnist in America, picking up along the way a full page every fortnight in *Newsweek*, and the chair of Distinguished Conservative Thought on the David Brinkley Sunday program.

He has never practiced, with any consistency, the art of ingratiation, and that has cost him the support of many conservatives, who punish him or seek to do so by displaying an extraordinary insensibility to the relentless firepower that he discharges week after week in pursuit of conservative analysis and goals. He offended several well-connected conservative figures by expressing an early and articulate dislike for Spiro Agnew, as though he had looked Agnew in the eyes and seen there a crooked man. There are still those who believe that Will was anti-Agnew for capricious reasons, and that it was sheer luck that Agnew turned out to be a crook. And then there is a little of the bully in George. His disdain for President Bush borders on the pathological (in this book, Bush is a "stammering cipher"). One has the feeling, every now and again, that at a certain point, with respect to certain people, bloodlust takes over. And then he is thought by some to edge over across the threshold of balance, toward servility in matters that pertain to Israel. Once or twice every year he cites the need for higher taxation without paying serious attention to the extensive literature of the supply-siders, who say why there is a need to qualify any endorsement of higher taxation if revenue-raising is its only motive. He has named the *Constitution of Liberty* by Hayek as the most important book extant on political economy, without however coming to terms with Hayek's denunciation of the progressive feature of the income tax as the weakest reed in self-government, perhaps even fatal to it.

And of course there are conservatives who are suspicious of his enthusiasm for government as an instrument for the stimulation of decent instincts. He is well aware of this and of the reasons for it.

> Many Americans reflexively flinch from the idea of government nurturing virtue . . . Americans have a bluff, common-sense belief that a government that has a hard enough time delivering the mail and patching potholes cannot be expected to bring off anything as subtle and complex as moral improvement. Besides, even if government could do it, government should not do it, because soulcraft is incompatible with freedom.

All very well, but Will holds, along with classical liberalism, that man is a political animal and that the atomistic individualism of "scorched-earth" conservatives simply does not work, and that in the meantime there is, manifestly, work to be done by participation "in the governance of a polity that nurtures what it presupposes, a modicum of public virtue. This virtue is a tendency to prefer the public good to personal interests; it is readiness to define the public good as more than an aggregation of private interests." If that isn't hard and resonant conservative thought, count me out as a dues-paying member of the fraternity.

George Will especially annoys some conservatives by his total indifference to the regard in which they hold him. This is, depending on how you view it, a splendid example of above-the-crowd individualism, or else it is, paradoxically, an example of the kind of self-isolationism George Will deplores in conservative libertarians. But notwithstanding that he does not solicit it, I proffer here a salute to a consummate stylist and a profoundly informed doctor of civil order. □

Dangerous Curves

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

IN *Changing Fortunes*, former Federal Reserve chairman Paul Volcker and Toyoo Gyohten of the Japanese Ministry of Finance tell a fascinating story about how policy-makers are always behind the curve. It is not surprising that markets know more than people who spend their lives intervening in them and trying to fine-tune them, but it is surprising to hear two prominent policy-makers admit that they spent their public lives constantly surprised by developments and by the consequences of their actions.

Changing Fortunes: The Shaping of the International Monetary Order, by Paul Volcker and Toyoo Gyohten (Random House, 352 pp., $25)

Those who believe in government will take little comfort from this book, which grew out of a series of informal lectures at Princeton in 1991. We probably owe the revelations here to the informality of the lectures: in public speaking, it helps a prominent person to be self-deprecating. If *Changing Fortunes* had been conceived as a book, it probably would have struck the authors as too revealing of the foibles of policy-making. Few want to admit they spent their lives doing things that did not succeed.

Volcker recalls that he *began* his professional career behind the curve. As a young employee of Chase Manhattan Bank, he was summoned early in 1958 to the office of George Champion, the bank's president. Champion, obviously ahead of the curve, was worried that the U.S. was becoming less competitive and that it could affect the dollar. This was the heyday of the "dollar shortage," and economists assumed that the U.S. would forever maintain a strong trade position. Volcker reports that he gave Champion a dose of this conventional wisdom—and within a few months of his answer our balance of payments turned adverse and we lost gold reserves. Volcker says he learned the lesson that "practical men dealing in markets sometimes are far quicker to sense a change in trend than economists immersed in past data."

Volcker re-learned this lesson many times throughout his public career as a policy-maker. As a deputy undersecretary of the Treasury, he watched the Interest Equalization Tax create the Eurodollar market, which certainly was not the intention. Toyoo Gyohten, from his perspective, reports that the tax helped to bring down the Bretton Woods fixed-exchange-rate system by causing the rapid expansion of Eurodollars and the volatile movement of capital.

The Bretton Woods system broke down on Volcker's watch as undersecretary of the Treasury. The first part of the book is about the confused efforts first to maintain parity, then to negotiate dollar devaluation, and finally to suspend the convertibility of dollars for gold. At the time it was all seen as a huge crisis, but in the end it came to nothing. Volcker reports that "the world didn't come apart" with floating exchange rates: "Neither the world economy nor its trading system seemed so sensitive to monetary disturbances as had been feared by those of us raised in the Bretton Woods system and dedicated to protect it." Nevertheless, Volcker misses Bretton Woods as a symbol of international economic cooperation.

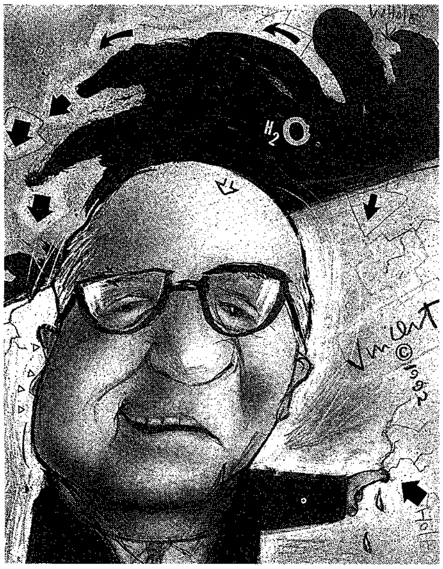
Volcker and Gyohten have remained behind one particular policy curve all their lives: they have always expected currency depreciation or appreciation to cure trade deficits or surpluses. Yet not the exchange-rate realignments of the last days of Bretton Woods, nor the Carter Administration's dollar-bashing policy, nor the dollar depreciation of the Plaza Accord in 1985 has cured the U.S. trade deficit. And the continual appreciation of the Japanese yen over a couple of decades has failed to deprive that country of its trade surplus.

Indeed, Japan long resisted the appreciation of the yen, because the country's policymakers believed a strong currency would deprive Japan of its strong trade position, which it had laboriously worked to achieve.

Mr. Roberts, who was assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy in 1981-82, currently holds the William E. Simon chair at the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Gyohten reports that it was only in 1988 that Japan realized that a strong currency was a greater benefit than a disadvantage. It meant lower energy costs, lower import prices, more consumer satisfaction, better investment opportunities abroad, and a stronger incentive for businesses to control costs. The U.S. Treasury has yet to learn this lesson.

The latter part of the book deals with the disinflation and strong-dollar "crisis" of the Reagan years. Here Volcker, echoed by Gyohten, is much less gracious, and he shows a surprising lack of understanding of the events surrounding him while he was chairman of the Federal Reserve. Volcker never explains why inflation collapsed despite "loose fiscal policy," inflationary budget deficits, and overconsumption. His Keynesian misinterpretation of Reaganomics leaves the disinflation of the 1980s a mystery. Perhaps it was a surprise that he still hasn't figured out. He certainly does not understand the contribution made by Treasury Undersecretary Beryl Sprinkel, who insisted that the Fed not intervene in currency markets to prevent the dollar's rise.



Vincent Lacava

Volcker seems to think that "true-blue Reaganauts," who lacked the insider pedigree of "old Washington hands," wanted a strong dollar as a sign of pride after a decade of a sinking exchange rate. Still miffed, he devotes several pages to lecturing Sprinkel on the Fed's authority to intervene. He is also annoyed by "insensitivity" toward foreign concern over the dollar's rise. French President Mitterrand, for example, wanted support for the franc to protect his socialist policies, but this was impossible because of the Treasury's hands-off policy toward the dollar.

Volcker does not appreciate that Don Regan's Treasury, by opposing currency intervention, was supporting disinflation and making Volcker a hero. To hold down the dollar, Volcker would have had to flood currency markets with dollars. This would have been inflationary unless he sterilized the intervention by mopping up dollars at home. But, of course, if he sterilized the operation, it would have had no impact on the exchange rate. Sprinkel did not trust the Fed to hold the line on disinflation and did not want to open a door for the Fed to pump out dollars. Perhaps if Volcker had talked to Sprinkel as much as he did to foreign policy-makers, he would have gained an understanding of the Reagan Administration's policy.

The most astonishing feature of *Changing Fortunes* is that neither author connects tight monetary policy with high interest rates, or the sudden and unexpected collapse of inflation with budget deficits. Monetary policy simply disappears as both authors attribute high interest rates to budget deficits, despite the fact that the former preceded the latter. The authors report that the strong dollar was the result of the inflow of foreign money attracted by high interest rates to finance our budget and trade deficits. Yet the balance-of-payments statistics show no increase in foreign capital inflows during Reagan's first term.

It never dawns on Volcker or Gyohten that the strong dollar was due to the higher after-tax rate of return on investment in the U.S. that resulted from the 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act. Instead of exporting capital, Americans kept it at home, thus reducing the supply of dollars in exchange markets. When the dollar fell during Reagan's second term, foreign money poured in—the exact opposite of what policy-makers expected. Gyohten reports that most of the participants at the Plaza meeting in 1985 thought the budget deficit would keep the dollar strong despite intervention against it and were caught off guard by the dollar's extraordinary fall.

Thus the book ends as it began, with the world's policy-makers still behind the curve. Interestingly, neither author says a word about the continuing

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crash of Japanese stock and real-estate values or the decapitalization of Japanese banks. It remains to be seen whether fortunes have changed or whether the U.S. will again have to scrape Japan off the pavement. □

Almost ad Nauseam

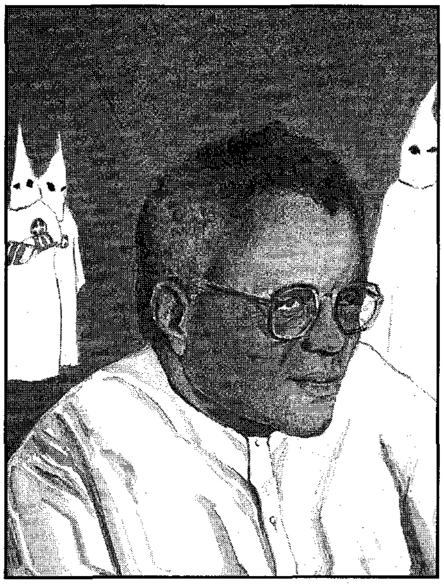
ABIGAIL THERNSTROM

Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism, by Derrick Bell (Basic, 240 pp., $20)

ONLY the lunatic fringe buys racist tracts written by whites, but black racism sells. Or so it would seem, given the growing infatuation with Malcolm X, the success of virulently anti-white rappers, and the extraordinarily warm reception already given to Derrick Bell's new book, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*. Bell's basic thesis is that almost all whites are born evil (he allows a few exceptions). And almost all blacks (not the likes of Thomas Sowell) are born good. Only an irredeemably depraved race could ever have owned slaves; the once-enslaved, however, have been permanently morally elevated by their subordinate status.

Thus Bell—who last made headlines by staging a one-man teaching strike at Harvard Law, from which he has now resigned—asks us to fathom (in the words of an Afrocentric scholar) "the mentality of a people that could continue for over three hundred years to kidnap an estimated 50 million youth and young adults from Africa. . . ." (Forget the factual distortions—they're unimportant to Bell.) Slavery, he goes on, is "an example of what white America has done [and thus] a constant reminder of what white America might do." It is, in short, in the blood.

Blacks, on the other hand, are a communal, cooperative people, with "warm, rich voices," a "tenacity for life," and a remarkable ability to experience freedom even under the most oppressive conditions. They are born virtuous; melanin is destiny.



It's an ugly message, which Bell presents in a series of allegorical tales and fables. City University of New York professor Leonard Jeffries rings at least some bells of alarm with his hate-mongering talk of "ice people" and "sun people." But Derrick Bell tells seductive stories in an almost playful tone which masks their menacing content. In one story he chats with a black chauffeur who is driving him to a college lecture. They agree on much—black hands clasped across class lines. For instance, they both know that "from the Emancipation Proclamation on, the Man been handing us a bunch of bogus freedom checks he never intends to honor." And that the law "works for the Man most of the time, and only works for us [blacks] in the short run as a way of working for him in the long run."

Another tale involves "White Citizens for Black Survival," a group that aims to build a national network of secret shelters to house and feed black people "in the event of a black holocaust or some other all-out attack on America's historic scapegoats." It's a possibility that Bell takes very seriously. "Such an attack," he suggests, is "not only possible, but probable."

A "holocaust" or its equivalent is a favorite theme of Bell's. In some versions of the fantasy, as in "A Law Professor's Protest," only a relatively small number of blacks is liquidated—in that case all 196 black professors and administrators at Harvard University. In "The Space Traders," however, every American black is turned over to an armada from outer space that brings riches in return. The trade is the culmination of a long tradition of sacrificing black rights to further white interests; black outrage has "as usual" no credibility. Whites only want to hear their own racist views—"almost ad nauseam," preferably from black toadies.

The stories have a common message: "the permanence of racism." Louis Farrakhan has it right, Bell believes. "Smart and superarticulate," he writes, "Minister Farrakhan is perhaps the best living example of a black man ready, willing, and able to 'tell it like it is.'" Inner-city blacks "need to hear their rage articulated."

Oppression is a constant, progress an illusion. "For over three centuries," Bell writes, "this country has promised democracy and delivered discrimination and delusions." Ground is sometimes gained but always lost. In fact, he maintains, black suffering has actually increased in the last forty years, and even today, blacks live in constant danger that "an unexpected coincidence of events" will persuade whites to murder them all.

The Constitution has been changed, civil-rights statutes have been passed, and sometimes blacks have gained a small measure of relief if protection served some interest of importance to whites. But "at best, the law—by protecting blacks from blatant racist practices and policies, but rationalizing all manner of situations that relegate blacks to a subordinate status—regularizes racism."

In fact, racism is the glue that holds American society together. "Americans achieve a measure of social stability through their unspoken pact to keep blacks at the bottom." The "unspoken pact" is not one that blacks can break. And indeed, whites strip blacks of every resource—even their culture. "Not only do whites insist on better jobs, higher incomes, better schools and neighborhoods, better everything"; they also usurp black music, dance, language, and dress. What, then, is the point of the protest to which Bell has devoted so much energy? "There is satisfaction in the struggle itself." Hassling whites brings psychic gratification. It's what Bell lives for.

Mrs. Thernstrom is the author of Whose Votes Count? Affirmative Action and Minority Voting Rights.

Storytelling not only makes palatable what otherwise might seem unacceptable. It relieves Bell of the necessity of making logical arguments sustained by evidence. Unsubstantiated—and indeed indefensible—assertions litter the book. Job discrimination is said to be worse now than it was when employers posted signs saying: "NO NIGRAS NEED APPLY." Good restaurants don't use black waiters. Universities mainly appoint blacks "who reject or minimize their blackness . . ."; moreover, there is a "ceiling on the number of blacks who will be hired in a given department—regardless of their qualifications." Civil-rights legislation is "weakly worded and poorly enforced." The problems of the black underclass (who live in "South African homelands") are entirely the making of whites. "White mendacity, white deceit, white chicanery" drive blacks to "self-rejection" and thus to "drug-related crime, teen-aged parenthood, and disrupted and disrupting family life."

The fantasy world that Bell has constructed is simply eerie. In theory, he is using allegory to reveal the truth about the country in which we live. In fact, reality eludes him. He seems lost in a world of his own making—one in which paranoid delusions obscure the most obvious facts. His own psyche, however, is a mystery we need not explore. His extraordinary following poses the more interesting problem. Bell tells whites that they are the scum of the earth, while describing blacks as morally superior yet seriously and permanently incapacitated. In different ways, then, his black and white devotees seem gluttons for punishment. How come? Our future as one nation indivisible may rest on the answer. □

Hot for Teacher

RICHARD BROOKHISER

IT IS POSSIBLE that some of the people who, two years ago, read Camille Paglia's *Sexual Personae*, an eccentric seven-hundred-page survey of Western art from the Stone Age to the Yellow Decade, were so taken with its discussions of Goethe's "Venetian Epigrams" and the paintings of Sir Edward Burne-Jones that they are now thinking of buying *Sex, Art, and American Culture* hoping for more of the same. More likely, Miss Paglia's first readers want Madonna, pornography, date rape, and roller-derby bouts with feminists and deconstructionist literary theorists.

***Sex, Art, and American Culture*, by Camille Paglia (Vintage, 337 pp., $13)**

For Goethe, go elsewhere. All the other stuff is here.

Mr. Brookhiser is an NR *senior editor, and a columnist for the* New York Observer.

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"[Madonna] sensed the buried pagan religiosity in disco." "I accept Mapplethorpe as a pornographer, but for me Donatello, Michelangelo, and Caravaggio were also pornographers." "You go back to the Kennedy compound late at night and you're surprised at what happens? [Willie Smith's accuser is] the one who should be charged—with ignorance. Because everyone knows that Kennedy is spelled S-E-X." "American GIs (including my uncles) got shot up rescuing France when she was lying flat on her face under the Nazi boot. Hence it is revolting to see pampered American academics down on their knees kissing French bums."

Camille Paglia, you'll notice, is not Lionel Trilling. More to the point, she is not the sort of jargon-afflicted post-Marx, post-Heidegger academic exhibited by Roger Kimball. She says everything with a lead-writer's punch.

There is a theory that stalks through Miss Paglia's pages, though. An atheist, she sees nature—chaotic, wasteful, and irrational—as the fundamental reality. Human institutions and activities are efforts to impose a margin of order, and men, who feel most threatened by the welter, do most of the imposing. (One of the punchiest sentences of *Sexual Personae* was: "If civilization had been left in female hands, we would still be living in grass huts." Miss Paglia liked it so well, she repeats it here.) It is possible, she believes, and sometimes desirable, to construct human artifacts which, in their brittle brilliance, go totally against nature's grain. But our most enduring works are those which acknowledge the dark forces they seek to channel.

Hence her preferred religion is paganism (she believes in astrology). Failing that, Roman Catholicism, so long as it is Italianate and content-free. Politically, she is an instinctual libertarian, in favor of both prostitution and capitalism, though this doesn't stop her from recommending federal grants for rock musicians. Art in the West, she thinks, tames the dark forces by crystallizing around sexually charged male and female archetypes. Everything else, presumably, is decoration or journalism. In the twentieth century, popular art, mainly Hollywood and rock, has done the job better than high art.

As with anyone who tries to explain everything, there are gaps, caused by the inevitable holes in an individual's knowledge or taste. The gap most obvious to me is Miss Paglia's tin ear. Music exists for her only as soundtrack for spectacle, whether for a rock video or a death scene at La Scala. This partly explains Miss Paglia's worship of Madonna. Whatever her other assets, Madonna sings like Alvin the Chipmunk's sister.

Miss Paglia also falls into patterns of error. She talks about society, without having a feel for it, or for the units on which it rests: about the only family she ever discusses is the Paglia family. Social novels, ending in marriage, are so many closed books to her (she does better with Shakespearean comedies). This limitation showed mostly clearly in her treatment of *Wuthering Heights* in *Sexual Personae*. I recently read *Wuthering Heights* for the first time since ninth grade. It is

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as shocking as Miss Paglia says it is, far more so than anything by Bret Easton Ellis. She dismisses the second half, though, after Cathy dies, as so much noodling. What it is instead is an examination of the effects a lifelong program of revenge like Heathcliff's would have on its victims, and on the revenger. Miss Paglia is only interested in demon lovers.

Her most annoying trait is the nihilist's effort to have everything all ways. What else could we expect from someone who sees all human efforts as arbitrary dikes against destruction? In one sentence, we get Dionysus, whores, drag queens. In the next, we get Catholicism, the canon, scholarship. "The institutional religions, Catholic and Protestant," writes Miss Paglia in a typical passage explaining why she opposes the ordination of homosexuals, though she is "of wavering sexual orientation" herself, "carry with them the majesty of history. Their theology is impressive and coherent. Efforts to revise or dilute that theology for present convenience seem to me misguided." But the relevant criterion for a religion, and for many other institutions as well, is not impressiveness but truth. If Christianity isn't true, then its temples should be turned into museums or parking lots. If it is, then a lot of what Miss Paglia thinks is—false.

One piece of advice. Miss Paglia attributes her non-stop full-blast style to her ethnicity: don't blame the decibels on me, I'm Italian. But, as Luigi Barzini knew, the best Italian gestures are economical. "Sicilians, for instance, are known to convey a vast range of grave and sometimes mortal messages practically without stirring a muscle of their faces or moving their hands." If Miss Paglia doesn't learn to insert some Sicilian moments, for variety's sake, her readers may tuck her next book in with the fishes. □

FILM

Return of the Native

JOHN SIMON

AS A BOY, I read a few of James Fenimore Cooper's novels in some Central or East European language. Whichever it was, the translation must have improved on the original. After reading Mark Twain's devastating essay on Cooper many years later—perhaps the greatest piece of American criticism—I have no further desire to reconnoiter that worthy's fiction. The essay conclusively demonstrated that the retired Navy man had no idea what he was talking about even when he was writing about boats, and that his language was wooden enough to carve cigar-store Native Americans out of.

So I have no doubt that the dreadful movie ***The Last of the Mohicans*** does Cooper full justice. Written by its director, Michael Mann, in cahoots with Christopher Crowe, the film is based in good part on the 1936 movie version, starring Randolph Scott and Binnie Barnes, and itself a pretty dubious commodity. Mann, whose name will remain inextricably linked with TV's *Miami Vice*, allegedly spent three years researching the novel's historical background, time he could have spent more profitably watching some good foreign movies.

As you recall, this is a tale set against the background of the French and Indian Wars. In the movie version, the two lovely sisters Cora and Alice Munro must travel to the wilderness outpost Fort William Henry, which their British officer father is defending against the French and their Indian allies, led by the bloodthirsty Huron brave Magua. The Munro girls are escorted by Major Duncan Heyward, to whom Cora is reluctantly near-engaged, and the expedition is guided by pro-British Mohicans: Chief Chingachgook, his son Uncas, and Nathaniel, the white orphan he adopted and turned into another beloved son, Hawkeye, the ideal frontiersman.

They make it with some difficulty, and after the fall of the Fort must escape amid even greater dangers. There are dissensions among the British army, the Colonials, the Indians, and not least the Munro family. Thus

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Mr. Simon, NR's *film critic, is also theater critic for* New York *magazine.*

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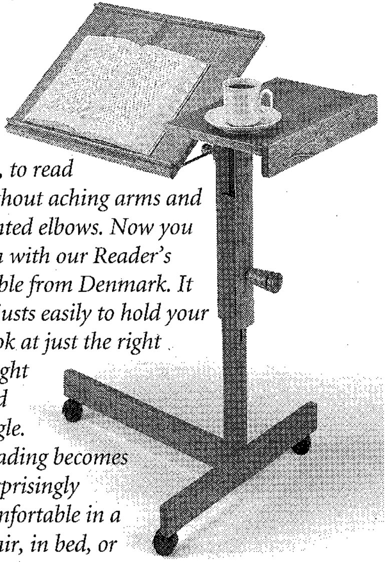

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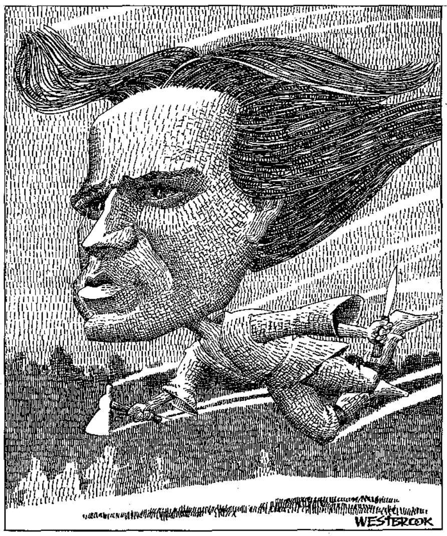
Colonel Munro has stupidly jailed Hawkeye and intends to hang him; whereas Cora has become his mistress and intends to marry him. Alice and Uncas have likewise fallen in love, but . . . but do you really want me to rehearse the whole silly tale?

The salient features of the movie are almost total confusion about the historical background, and Mann's abject inability to tell a story. There are plot developments and new characters popping up that remain as inscrutable as a Chinese laundry ticket, and Mann seems blissfully ignorant of cinematic syntax, so that scenes hook into one another in ways that cannot be parsed, let alone understood. If this were prose, it would be all sentence fragments, dangling modifiers, and incorrect antecedents. Every sequence exists only for its own lurid effect, and where there ought to be continuity, there is rampant amnesia. The forest ambushes and fighting are real enough in their randomness, confusion, and bestiality, but the viewer should at least intermittently know who is doing what unto whom.

As Hawkeye, Daniel Day-Lewis is mostly on the run. Running through forests primeval, up steep hills, along precarious ledges, seemingly in several directions simultaneously, he often shoots out of two rifles, one in each hand, and never misses. Not since *Chariots of Fire* has there been so much running in one movie, but there at least it was apportioned among several characters, and we knew where they were running and why. Here we seem to get scenes from some seven-day cross-country race chopped up into small fragments and reassembled at random. Needless to say, an audience nurtured on car chases, demolition derbies, and MTV found nothing worrisome about this, indeed lapped it up like mother's milk, however curdled and bloodcurdling. And nonsensical.

Day-Lewis is especially apt as a runner, having sharp features that make for good aerodynamics, and long black tresses (real or not, what matter?) magnificently aflutter around him on the headwind generated by his cleaving cranium. He looks like some sort of human helicopter. In between footraces, he gets to do some minimal acting, which includes *gal*lant defiance of tyranny and gal*lant* courting and virile romancing of Madeleine Stowe's almost equally ship's-figurehead-like Cora, who, for a genteel young British lady, has quite a way with a shotgun. Stephen Waddington, as Duncan, the unsuccessful rival for Cora's love, has one of those unfortunate English faces suggestive of a half-born calf; Uncas and Alice, the secondary lovers, barely register at all. Correction, Alice (Jodhi May) does, when, about to be ravished by Magua, she is kept by the director for an unconscionable time atop a high cliff before being allowed to hurtle, her virginity unsullied, into the abyss. Mann manages to give the word "cliffhanger" an even worse name.

As Colonel Munro, Maurice Roëves rants when he doesn't roar, and carries on in general (or colonel) like a hyperthyroid wolverine. The good father figure, Chingachgook, played by the celebrated Indian activist Russell Means, fades into the background, having little to do and even less talent to do it with. Another authentic Indian, the Cherokee Wes Studi, plays the malign Magua with appropriate ferocity, but never letting us forget that the white man drove him to it.



Sam Westbrook

The film was shot in North Carolina's Blue Ridge Mountains, as photogenic as Dolly Parton's knockers, and Dante Spinotti's camera has caught them, now enveloped in teasingly veiling morning mists, now bursting forth in sun-kissed orange voluptuousness. A pair of extremely non-native Americans, the production designer Wolf Kroeger and the costume designer Elsa Zamparelli, have knocked themselves out to recreate every native or colonial artifact with demented accuracy. And a brace of composers have put together a score that combines bizarre autochthonous strains with enlightened Western (or West Coast) movie music. They are Trevor Jones, who gave us the soundtrack of *Arachnophobia*, and Randy Edelman, the composer of *Beethoven* (the big, floppy dog, not the tunesmith of *Fidelio*). Yet what avails all this expertise if so much of the writing, acting, and directing is an unadulterated mess?

■ Speaking of messes—and of Indians—we have now the long-awaited (though not by me) ***1492: Conquest of Paradise***, the Ridley Scott version of the Columbus story. A lesser Columbus movie came and went in the time it took to say Admiral of the Ocean Seas; though worthless, it was at least unintentionally funny, notably whenever Marlon Brando, as Torquemada, bestrode the screen. Here, however, we have the allegedly genuine article, showing us in two and a half slow-moving hours how Columbus's noble vision—well, relatively noble vision—was exploited and perverted by unconscionable scoundrels. Actually, the conquest is not so much Columbus's as that of the color orange, in which Ridley Scott and his cinematographer, Adrian Biddle, swathe much of the old and most of the new world, turning it all into a Tangerine Dream.

There is no point in discussing this film as a film: it is, except for some fine views of the insides of Spanish cathedrals and palaces, what the French call *nul*. But something should be said about the casting. This is a truly gross reversion to the old (pre-Columbian?) Hollywood, even if it is an independent production. In those hoary, uncaring days a Polish accent would do for German, German for French, and Hungarian for just about anything. But at least those heterogeneous foreign accents were meant to indicate foreignness. Here everyone, except the Indians, is supposed to be Spanish and talk alike. Instead, we get French Spaniards, British Spaniards, Yanqui Spaniards, and even some Spanish Spaniards throwing a spanner in the works.

For box-office reasons, Scott wanted to make his film in English, yet forcing someone like Gérard Depardieu, the Columbus, to deliver endless dialogue in a language he has a very slow learner's problems with is cruel and unusual punishment. For us too, by the way. Because of Depardieu, we must retranslate in the mind whatever the ear hears, thus doubling the psychological time of this already lumbering movie, and exposing us to the risk of missing the next line of dialogue altogether. As written by the aptly named Roselyne Bosch, that next line is not likely to be much, but, even so, we don't relish the feeling of being left out.

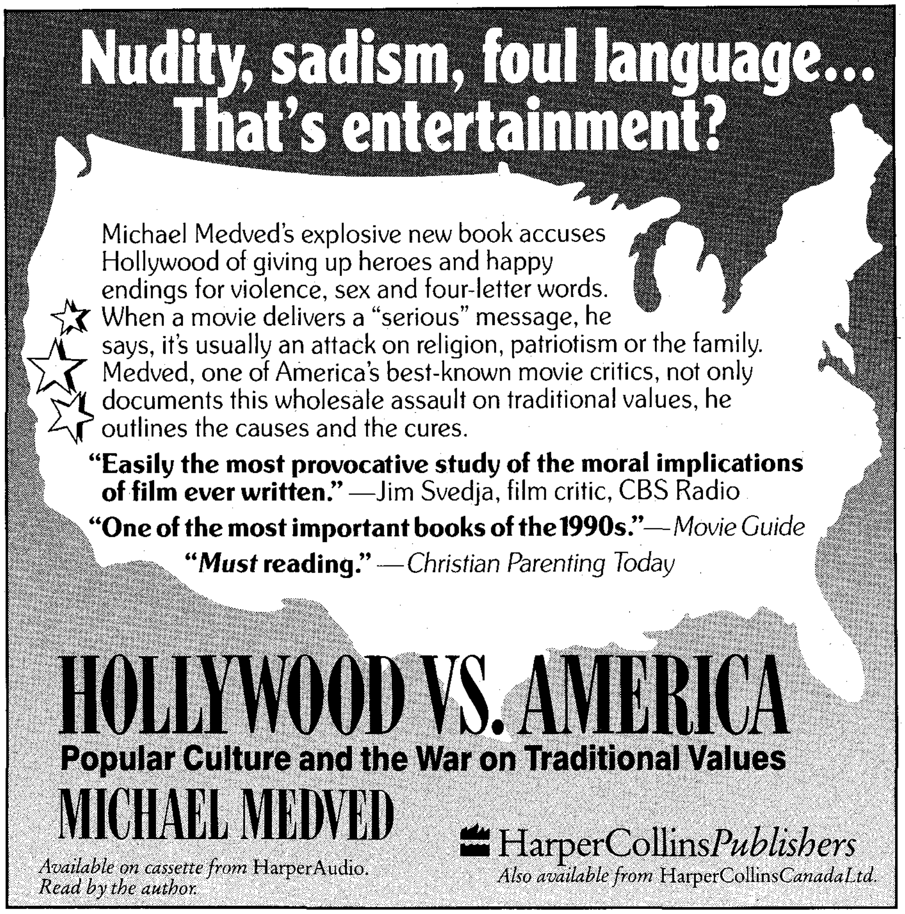
The film's score is by Vangelis, a Greek no-talent, who is, of course, the ideal composer for a Spanish and Italian historical subject. It was Vangelis who wrote the inappropriate and unendurable score for *Chariots of Fire*, a cacophony the public adored. Here Vangelis repeats the same synthesized caterwaulings, but with (let's hope) diminishing returns.

There was, for me, one moment of interest in the movie. After the conquistadors disembark in the newfound paradise, Scott gives us an exotic coral snake here, a resplendent bird of paradise there. Then, in the lower left corner of the frame, there is an even stranger animal. A tapir? A pangolin? A nandu? None of the above; it is, caught at an odd, unflattering angle, the face of Gérard Depardieu.

■ But old worlds, too, are being rediscovered. Take ***Hero***, wherein the producer, Laura Ziskin, a USC film-school graduate, supplied the idea to Alvin Sargent, a true and tested screenplay wizard, then had it further polished by David Webb Peoples, a new screenplay wizard, author of, among not many others, the script for Clint Eastwood's *Unforgiven*.

Hero is another movie that need not detain us long, except to note how the old Frank Capra or Preston Sturges movies, taught in film schools, can be recycled in slightly refurbished form by the likes of Miss Ziskin and her cohort for Nineties use. Here we have a glitzy British (but Hollywood-oriented) director, Stephen Frears, a slick British composer, George Fenton, the British cinematographer Oliver Stapleton, and the British film editor Mick Audsley teaming up to bestow on us an archetypally American Capra or Sturges movie.

But there is a difference. A Capra film (Sturges is a more complex case), although starting from a preposterous premise, belabored its simple point



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NIKA HAZELTON: DELECTATIONS

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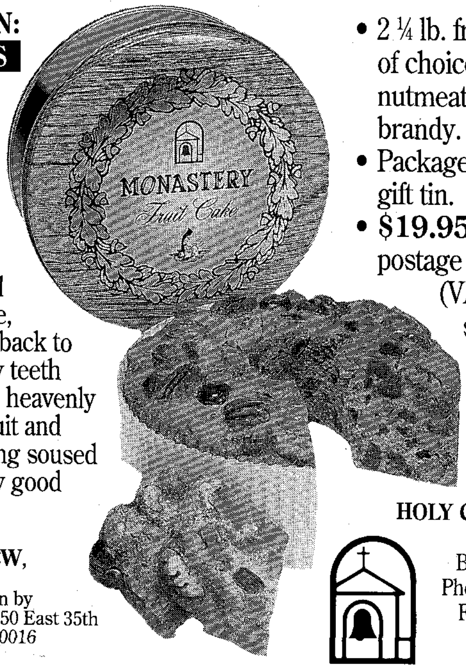


with a dogged, naïve faith in its story, its people. All right, we know now that Capra and his writers were not the sweet, humane simpletons they pretended to be, but they believed in what they were doing, could fool themselves into falling for their own legerdemain. But the Ziskin gang fabricates a story full of complicated reversals, double bottoms, and tricksy non-sequiturs until the whole thing, instead of merely proceeding from a basic fantasy, is awash in grandiose absurdity. All the same, one may enjoy Dustin Hoffman and Andy Garcia going through their tricks, and Geena Davis trying to huff her way into being Jean Arthur. Aside from everything else, she is, unnervingly, too tall for Garcia. But then, this is a tall tale. □

DELECTATIONS

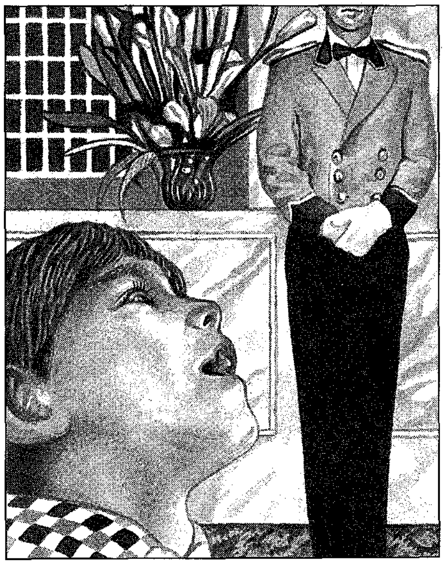
Room at the Inn

TAKI

HOTELS HAVE always played a great part in my life. My earliest memory of one is when I was taken by my parents to the Grande Bretagne in 1945, at the time the grandest hotel in Athens. When the Germans occupied Greece in 1941, they billeted their high command in the GB, leaving Athenian high lifers to fend for themselves. After the liberation, Churchill stayed there, the Greek government having concluded it was the least likely place for Winnie to stop a Communist bullet.

Although the hotel had taken its share of pounding in four years of war, I'll never forget its grand chandeliers, its imposing salons, the liveried waiters. And the food. It tasted like the proverbial manna from you know where, especially as I hadn't tasted butter or a sweet in four long years.

Dining at the GB became a lifelong habit, until, one day, my father decided to construct his own hotel, the Caravel. The price being right, I forgot all about the GB, but not my first visit. But let me take a moment to say a few words about owning a hotel. It is like having a very big house in the middle of the city with five hundred servants. The only difference being that perfect strangers roam the public rooms. *C'est tout.* Of course, the intruders pay for the privilege, which makes it easier to bear. What is very hard to explain is how easy life becomes when one has five hundred people attending to one's needs. Mind



Bonnie Gardner

you, the Caravel is losing a fortune, which in real terms means that I *do* have a staff of five hundred, but that's an altogether different matter.

There is something magic and mysterious about hotels. People go mad in them, fall in love, even kill each other. Olga, the beautiful spy, may or may no longer arrive in a haze of seductive musk. Romance is as much a part of a hotel as paying the bill. In these bad economic times the lure of luxury intensifies, just as it did back in the Twenties in New York and late Thirties in Berlin. When I gave a ball for my 350 closest friends to celebrate the collapse of Communism back in 1990, I of course chose the London Savoy, the favorite dining place for English upper-class traitors such as Guy Burgess and Donald Maclean.

Needless to say, hotels have played their part in literature, the Grand in Vicky Baum's case, and Gausse's Hotel—in reality the Hôtel du Cap—in *Tender Is the Night*. Hemingway's novels were redolent with them, and, if memory serves, Holden Caulfield, too, visited the Plaza. Oscar Wilde died in one, as did Vladimir Nabokov—the latter's place of demise being of far, far better standing. Sometimes hotels even turn into countries, as happened in the case of Claridge's in London, when the British government made it Yugoslav territory for a day in order for the Crown Prince of that miserable nation, whose mother was in the process of giving birth, to be able to say he was a native-born Yugoslav.

In the summer of 1946 many prominent Athenian families moved *en mass* to the hotel Semiramis, in Kifissia, a northern suburb of the capital. Their summer houses had been destroyed in the war but the Semiramis was a better than average substitute. It was the happiest summer of my life. I made a lifelong friendship with Alec and Leonida Goulandris, found a large diamond left in the lavatory by the mistress of General Pangalos (ex-dictator), which my father made me give back, and met Tyrone Power. When that wonderful-looking actor arrived in Athens to publicize *The Razor's Edge*, the owner of the Semiramis asked me to present him with the *de rigueur* flowers, since I was the youngest customer. Twelve years later I was in hot pursuit of his ex-wife, Linda Christian, and one night we went to see Tyrone in his one-man Broadway play, *John Brown's Body*. Afterward backstage, when I was introduced to the great man, I told him that, although he surely didn't remember, I had once met him in Athens. "Of course," he said, "you're the little boy with the flowers at the hotel."

The Semiramis is still going strong, and although Kifissia and Athens itself have become hellholes, I still go to the hotel's terrace for a cooling drink after a scorching day by the swimming pool.

In 1948, at age 11, I moved my base of operations to New York's Plaza Hotel. This was long before Donald Trump had even heard of the place. For me it meant freedom, as my extremely strict mother could not control my movements. I especially recall things as inviting people my age to dinner and picking up the bill, unheard of for an 11-year-old.

Once I was dispatched to boarding school my parents moved to the

---

Taki Theodoracopulos, who writes the "High Life" column for The Spectator *in London, is the author of* Nothing to Declare *(Atlantic Monthly Press).*

Sherry Netherland Hotel, just across the square from the Plaza. The Sherry was more understated, with more than half of it being residential, i.e., occupied by people who had bought their apartments and lived there full time. For the next twenty years the Sherry was for me a place that not only provided funds in a pinch, but also gave me social cachet with the preppie crowd. During the Fifties the Sherry bar—where Cipriani's was later located, until the celebrated breakup—was the hottest place in town, and the Carnival Room—where Doubles is at present—was among the most popular nightclubs. I could sign my father's name in both places. Need I say more?

All good things come to an end, and by the time my dad sold the apartment to the awful Armand Hammer in 1968, I had discovered the world of great European hotels such as the Palace in Gstaad, the Plaza-Athénée in Paris, and the Hôtel du Cap in Antibes. In this country the early Sixties was when Mario Savio and other such opportunists pretended to discover free speech at Berkeley, but it was the golden period of Europe. The nostalgic flavor of elegance had returned to all the grand hotels with the Continent's reconstruction, as had their old clients, who had lain doggo while France and Italy flirted with Communism.

All three months of winter were spent in the Palace in Gstaad, where a single room without bath cost . . . three dollars a night. Then it was the Plaza-Athénée in the spring in Paris, followed by the Hôtel du Cap. On one weekend in August back in 1959 I remember knowing every person registered in the hotel. It was one long, unending party.

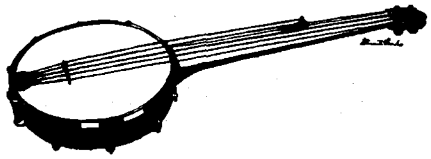
No more, but I still get that feeling of anticipation and excitement whenever I check into a European hotel. I say European because American hotels have long ceased to provide good service. Which are my favorite hotels? Easy. All the five-star hotels of Switzerland, France, Italy, and Britain. And the Ritz in Madrid. Oh yes, I almost forgot, and the Caravel in Athens. We do not deserve five stars, as the place is falling apart, but we are conveniently located across from the hospital for venereal diseases. With the kind of customers we're getting nowadays, it is a definite convenience and worth a star or two. ☐

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Sound & Fury: The Washington Punditocracy and the Collapse of American Politics, by Eric Alterman (HarperCollins, 352 pp., $23)

'POWER Washington does not generally read books," writes Eric Alterman. He should be glad that it at least buys them, since his diatribe against the pundit class (and bid to join it?) is among the best-selling books in the nation's capital. Too many pundits are afflicted, Alterman observes, by "laziness, self-satisfaction, and plain old burnout." Alterman does not merely review the work of the "punditocracy," a clumsy neologism he employs throughout, but contends, as his subtitle does not fully disclose, that mostly right-wing or -leaning pundits are to blame for "our national decline." Pundits don't have as much influence as Alterman thinks, however, and it's a good thing: Alterman for the most part ignores the (left-leaning) news side of the news business—his on-target analysis of the press's love affair with Bill Clinton being a notable exception. Alterman says the American people (meaning Eric Alterman) desire a "progressive domestic revitalization program," but he also says that "we have lost the language we need to discuss the reconstruction of our political culture." Here the anti-pundit pundit, whose understanding of the private sector is very modest indeed, is philosophically confused: How can a person know he desires something when he has no words to discuss that desire?

—TERRY EASTLAND



After the War Was Over: Hanoi and Saigon, by Neil Sheehan (Random House, 131 pp., $17)

AFTER publishing *A Bright Shining Lie*, former *New York Times* correspondent Neil Sheehan returned to Vietnam to see for himself what that country is like now. *After the War Was Over* chronicles that trip but more clearly demonstrates that, in Sheehan's mind, the war continues to be waged as actively as ever. He proves his own observation that "memories create expectations." Sheehan notes with surprise that the Vietnamese don't really blame the war or outside powers for their present misfortunes. Nor do they hate Americans. An old farmer, who fought in the South and endured napalm, smiles and tells him, "Americans are good." "I encountered this lack of animosity everywhere we went in the North and kept asking for an explanation," he writes. He looks for the reason in Vietnam's wars with China. But the Viet-

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namese came away from that warfare with an abiding hatred of the Chinese. Why then don't the Vietnamese hate Americans as well? It seems that Sheehan's expectations prevent him from seeing the answer revealed, for example, in a remark by Nguyen Van Linh: "The correct way would have been to help the peasants in the South to cultivate their own land as farmers do in the United States." Perhaps the Vietnamese, like many other peoples with first-hand experience of Communism, actually see in the American system a source not of threat but of hope. —DANIELLE ALLEN

Bisexuality in the Ancient World, by Eva Cantarella, translated by Cormac Ó Cuilleanáin (Yale, 284 pp., $27.50)

IN JUSTIFYING their behavior, homosexuals ask us to recall that sodomy was widespread among that most civilized people, the Greeks. However Greek homosexuality bears little resemblance to the contemporary version. As Eva Cantarella shows, it seems in fact to have been a kind of programmed bisexuality—pederasty as an adjunct to heterosexual, but unromantic, marriage. Our modern distinctions were quite meaningless to the Greeks. As with many cultures that sequester their women and girls, the only differentiation that mattered to them was in sexual roles, which seem never to have been interchangeable within a relationship: boys and women were passive, while grown men were expected to be active with both. Opprobrium attached to those young men who refused to relinquish their passivity once they left their teens, and to those men who neglected the education they owed to the youths in exchange for sexual favors. Though the Greeks considered homosexual relationships an enriching experience, and thus confined them to the freeborn, legal regulations and social pressures ensured as far as possible that the institution not degenerate into an occasion for promiscuity and sheer license. It should be pointed out that the evidence for Professor Cantarella's observations is thin. Given that it consists mainly of poetic references and inferences drawn from legal rhetoric, just how pervasive homosexuality was in the ancient world, outside the class of poets, must remain unclear.

—MARK MILLER

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 H	2 G	3 F	■	4 S	5 L	6 I	7 Q	8 M	9 Y	■	10 B	11 A	12 E	13 J	14 V	15 R	16 C	17 N	■	18 U	19 D	20 G
21 F	22 H	23 S	24 E	■	25 L	26 O	27 P	■	28 A	29 C	30 B	31 K	32 N	33 I	34 M	35 J	36 D	37 Q	38 R	■	39 P	40 S
■	41 A	42 C	43 E	44 F	45 K	46 W	47 O	48 U	■	49 I	50 H	51 Q	■	52 C	53 G	54 B	55 A	56 T	57 J	58 F	59 L	■
60 O	61 R	62 G	63 X	64 M	65 C	66 N	67 K	■	68 H	69 L	■	70 A	71 E	72 F	73 V	74 Y	75 P	76 W	77 I	78 N	■	79 A
80 S	81 U	82 M	83 J	84 G	85 T	86 L	■	87 E	88 Q	■	89 I	90 C	91 L	92 P	■	93 M	94 H	95 D	■	96 R	97 M	98 S
■	99 O	100F	101J	102V	103N	104Y	105R	106G	107P	108H	109C	110T	111B	■	112W	113B	114Q	115K	116X	117H	118U	119I
■	120A	121F	122L	123D	124W	125C	126K	127T	■	128L	129K	130N	131O	132J	■	133L	134U	135B	136O	■	137F	138D
■	139A	140E	141J	142O	143Y	144S	■	145D	146W	147I	148J	149R	150E	151H	152Q	153A	154P	155N	■	156Q	157H	158Y
■	159N	160F	161P	162I	163Q	164E	165L	166G	167M	■	168K	169B	170M	171E	172R	173T	174D	175C	176A	■	177X	178I
179G	180S	181W	182B	183H	184U	185A	■	186O	187J	188K	189B	190I	191G	192S	193N	194V	■	195X	196M	■	197E	198U
199F	200V	201C	202H	■	203Y	204P	■	205T	206R	207O	208C	209S	210D	211G	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A.	Ol' Man River	41 153 139 176 70 185 55 11 120 79 28
B.	Innate	169 113 111 135 182 54 30 189 10
C.	Welles effort (2 words)	52 90 125 65 208 175 29 201 42 16 109
D.	Gridiron rest	19 145 174 138 95 36 123 210
E.	Branch of mathematics	164 43 87 150 24 71 140 12 171 197
F.	Disposed to foul up (2 words)	160 121 44 199 21 72 3 137 100 58
G.	Kentucky home of sluggers	166 53 2 106 211 191 84 179 62 20
H.	Like the Andes	108 183 94 157 117 68 22 50 1 151 202
I.	Sooner or later	178 147 190 77 33 162 49 89 6 119
J.	"Handy" skill	57 187 141 101 148 83 13 35 132
K.	Deadly	129 45 168 115 188 126 67 31
L.	Gall	128 133 91 59 122 69 25 5 165 86
M.	WW I heroes	170 8 34 64 97 93 82 167 196
N.	Abu Nidal talent	78 130 193 159 66 103 32 17 155
O.	Cookout favorite	26 207 136 186 142 131 47 99 60
P.	Female hormone	92 154 75 204 39 161 27 107
Q.	Apartment-building bigwig	163 156 88 114 7 37 152 51
R.	Adit	61 149 96 206 105 38 172 15
S.	Incendiary insects	40 209 80 192 4 144 180 98 23
T.	Military blouses	85 173 110 56 205 127
U.	Delivery boy, e.g.	18 134 184 198 81 48 118
V.	Seeps	200 73 14 102 194
W.	Slow, to the maestro	76 146 46 181 112 124
X.	Indian garb	116 195 177 63
Y.	In the direction of	104 203 9 143 74 158

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

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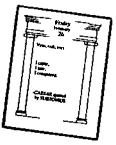

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ANDERSON

(Continued from page 52)

I write from a conservative perspective that has deepened in the two decades since I marched against the Vietnam War and voted for George McGovern, partly because of first-hand exposure, as a field producer for local television, to the unraveling of New York City. But it's hardly a down-the-line partisanship—I respect the passion of people who think abortion is murder, for instance, but personally I'm pro-choice, and for some odd, atavistic reason I remain a registered Democrat.

I also like to toy with the conceit that on balance I'm an honest man. Bias, we know from Tom Brokaw and Andrea Mitchell, is "in the eye of the beholder." Behold. It has become impossible for me to believe that anybody with a trace of fair-mindedness left can deny the blatant politicization of the news and entertainment media that we depend on so crucially.

It is not a question of what reporters and editors and anchors and producers privately believe. It's the public intellectual mendacity, the distortions, the double standards, the agitprop masquerading as news, the short shrift given to uncongenial explanations for the ills of a rich and resilient but troubled society, the arrogant dismissal of the idea that some of those ills might indeed have something to do with destructive sociology and demagogic economics. And it is patently preposterous to suggest that the constant drumbeat in favor of one particular world view does not have a profound effect on politics, on economics, on social climate, on the future, as we lurch toward Bethlehem. ☐

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Second Debate: Dull

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 16

The second presidential debate was the most boring ninety minutes of television of the year. And one reason for it is that the candidates appeared to have no alternative but to talk about their singular qualifications.

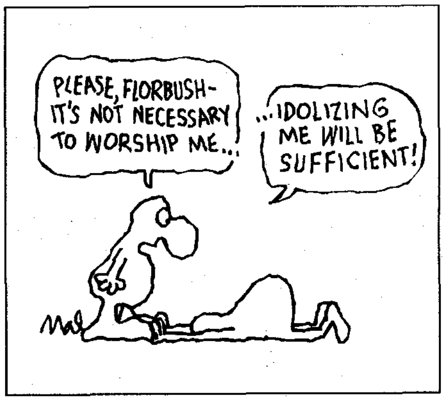
Now this is seriously difficult to do. When a junior employee goes to his boss and recites his accomplishments, putting in for a raise or for a promotion, it is a private conference, and the solicitor can speak about his accomplishments without the embarrassment of being heard other than by the person he is addressing. The presidential debates, as they have evolved, haven't taken stock of the human reluctance to hear John praise John. How wonderful and unique was John's family and John's training, how dizzying John's escape from conventional life and obligations, how striking his devotion to the welfare of others, how unique John's vision.

Now . . . Have you ever stood up and addressed a party of more than one person, about your singular attributes? If so, you were probably drunk; and almost certainly the people you addressed wished they had been elsewhere. Ross Perot homed in on his own wealth and on the skills he obviously disposed of to accumulate those billions a half-dozen times. He, Ross Perot, knew something about how to create jobs. He, Ross Perot, was spending his own money to get to the people. He, Ross Perot, wasn't using any spin doctors or any speechwriters. And, yes, he Ross Perot isn't going to get elected.

The contrast with alternative arrangements is very easy to consider because such arrangements are offered almost every day, specifically on the *MacNeil/Lehrer* program, where a representative of the Bush camp will argue with a representative of the Clinton camp over the desirability or feasibility of that day's proposal. If it is my job as an advocate to describe situations in which the character of George Bush irradiated from the action he took or the words he spoke, I can do this without generating that queasy feeling. Yes, the second debate would have engaged the attention of the viewer if three eloquent lawyers, representing the three candidates, had answered the questions on their behalf: free of that awkward encumbrance of singing one's own praises.

Such a formula would also permit the person being addressed to deal appropriately with questions from the floor that are not very bright. One questioner wanted to know whether any one of the three candidates had suffered personally from the size of the national deficit, and inasmuch as manifestly this was not the case, how could the candidates know what such deficits imposed on lesser people? She should have been told that the question was silly: most people on earth spend most of their time dealing with the problems of others, whether it's doctors or electricians or teachers. An undertaker can understand his business without dying. But although George Bush did blurt out that you don't have to have cancer in order to understand the problems of cancer, a whole lot of time was spent trying to cope with the question in such a way as not to hurt the feelings of the questioner, and so appear to be brusque and unfeeling.

There are some things one would not get, if one's case were represented by an advocate. H. Ross Perot's charm comes across primarily through the vehicle of his accent. "Wen all those bihgg ahdeeas ahrrived 'n Washinton, they ahrrived *daid*!" is a line that can bring down the house when spoken by a Ross Perot or an Andy Devine, but just imagine how the line would sound if spoken by George Plimpton (or me)? But this is not a plea to do away with the candidates themselves. Let them come on to give an oration or two, spoken as though from the Oval Office, giving a fireside chat to the people. This would permit the public to pass judgment on whether the candidate was "presidential." But a keener judgment would be had on whether the candidates' ideas on how to approach the deficit, gun control, health costs, and free trade were convincing. ☐


PLEASE, FLORBUSH- IT'S NOT NECESSARY TO WORSHIP ME...
...IDOLIZING ME WILL BE SUFFICIENT!
Mal

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Who Won?

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 14

The exchange between Mr. Quayle and Mr. Gore (Admiral Stockdale was sadly out of place) was interesting in what it told us about the participants and their relative skills, and interesting in what it tells us about the lamentable shape of political debate.

1. Dan Quayle is considerably transformed from the Quayle who took on Lloyd Bentsen four years ago. He was fast on his feet, aggressive, resourceful.

2. But the public was steered by Mr. Quayle into a very sticky corner, and it is just possible that the majority of those who listened to his principal argument are not going to like its implications, not at all. What the Vice President said not once but four times was that Bill Clinton has not established that he is fit to serve as President of the United States.

Now there are problems with taking that position. The first of them is that Mr. Clinton has the Democratic nomination. His infelicitous personal record has been inspected more often than a space shuttle, and whatever loose nuts and bolts the people found there, they nevertheless declared first in the primaries, then at the convention in New York City, then to the pollsters, that Clinton is the man they want as President. So what Mr. Quayle found himself having to say is that the person a majority of the American people as of this moment desire to see move into the White House isn't qualified to serve there.

And then in making his case for the disqualifications of Clinton, Mr. Quayle relies on preposterous historical arguments. He told the public that when a President deals with foreign leaders, they have to trust that President, and how is this possible, given that Mr. Clinton has lied or dissembled about his draft record, his activities as a student demonstrator in England, etc. etc?

But a kindergarten knowledge of history teaches us that foreign leaders only occasionally keep their promises. There are twenty broken treaties for every treaty that has survived. Roosevelt broke his word with the American people about staying out of the war, Kennedy broke his word to the Cuban people, Nixon broke promises made by JFK, LBJ, and Nixon to stand by the people of Vietnam. George Bush broke his implicit and explicit word to Iraqis whom he urged to rise up against Saddam Hussein—the record of broken promises takes us past de Gaulle and the Algerians, to the Allied Powers and Poland . . . and nobody ever said that Richelieu made his reputation by keeping his word. Anyway, at a level Mr. Quayle has to live with, the word of George Bush on the matter of taxes was never bankable.

3. The public was left to decide as between the platitudes exchanged—which were the most shallow? Gore is in love with the denunciation of "trickle-down economics." Why? Seven blocks from where I live there is a store whose florid markings are now tatterdemalion, but you can still make them out: "TCBY," The Country's Best Yogurt. Two years ago a couple financed the lease of the space, and bought a license to sell TCBY frozen yogurt. The investment (a conjecture) was in the neighborhood of $120,000. Four employees were hired. Fourteen months later, it closed down. If the volume of business had been 20 per cent higher than it was, the entrepreneurs would have made enough money to pay the rent and to pay the bank and to maintain their license: and if they had succeeded, their four employees would still be at work. And our Democratic friends call that, disdainfully, "trickle-down." It would have been refreshing if Mr. Quayle had asked Mr. Gore to give us an example of "trickle-up" economics. It can only be defined as the government getting into the business of selling frozen yogurt.

If Mr. Quayle wants to pin Mr. Clinton to the wall, why doesn't he talk about Clinton's miserable record on the matter of Supreme Court Justices, whom he is on record as believing should be free of litmus-test selection, but believes now must be consecrated to the cause of free abortions, for those babies that slip by the free condoms that must be provided in those free schools to which Americans must send their children because they would not under a Clinton Administration be permitted to put in for a voucher to go to a private school?

The one thing poor Mr. Quayle couldn't say is what the logic of his argument leads him to: Bill Clinton is a mess, and the American people are about to vote in a mess as President of the United States. □

What Happened To Federalism?

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 19

It defies understanding why Mr. Bush hasn't resurrected the idea of the federal system, brilliantly relevant at this moment, when a) the country is broke, and b) people are wanting a whole lot of extra government services. I have in mind the state of Hawaii.

You have probably heard that in Hawaii they have an all but universal health-care system (97 per cent coverage) which went into effect what seems like back around the time of the Civil War, though the actual date is 1975. Under the law passed at that time, everyone who works more than twenty hours a week for anybody has to have health insurance, paid one-half by the employer, one-half by the employee.

The question naturally arises, If it is a good idea (and it is popular in Hawaii), why don't other states do the same kind of thing?

The first objection is that Hawaii is relatively rich and can afford amenities other states can't. Let us put a final answer to that question in abeyance while we survey some relevant figures.

Last November, what one might call the counter-Bush revolution started. It was in Pennsylvania, when a relative unknown (though Harris Wofford has been in politics almost forever) beat Pennsylvania crown prince Dick Thornburgh in the special election to choose a successor to the late Senator Heinz. Mr. Wofford ran a one-theme campaign: He wanted federal health insurance. And indeed, three months ago, Bill Clinton was nominated for President on the promise that he would instigate such a system, from sea to shining sea.

Now, Hawaii ranks 13th among the states in wealth, with per-capita income of $16,898. Pennsylvania is not quite up there, at #20, but not very far away, with its per-capita wealth of $16,168. The idea that Pennsylvania could not afford what Hawaii can afford is not easy to maintain, at least, not outside Pennsylvania. Because, of course, the general impression is that any extra federal measure means that federal dollars, rather than state dollars, are going to come in to finance that measure. Hawaii sends 95 cents to Washington for every dollar it takes in from Washington; and Pennsylvania sends 91 cents for every dollar. Unless the planted axiom is that the entire cost of federal health insurance is going to be borne by those few states that send in more to Washington than they get back, what we are really talking about is self-financing health plans, and that leaves us wondering why Senator Wofford didn't propose to the voters of Pennsylvania that they do exactly what the voters in Hawaii did: set up their own system.

It would not have to be exactly the same in detail—that is the purpose of the federal system, to permit individual states to experiment with reference to the exact nature of their own problems, their own dispositions, and their own priorities. It remains the case that Hawaii is administering universal health care at a cost lower than that in much-admired health plans such as Canada's. And because employees recognize that a rise in health-care costs will mean that their own premiums will rise, there is a certain caution in the use of services. "You are not seeing people missing immunizations," was how one pediatrician recently put it. "We are seeing kids almost every two months, and it's these kinds of visits that will prevent illness and accidents."

In Hawaii, if a hospital or a clinic wants to add beds or high-tech equipment, it must first get permission to do so from state boards that watch carefully as the dollars go out. The result, according to a story in the *Washington Post*, is that "hospital and emergency room use is one-third lower than the national average, and during peak flu season it is not unusual to have week-waits for elective surgery." Nurse-practitioners are used "to treat minor illness and to manage patients with chronic but stabilized maladies. Nurse practitioners typically earn one-third of a doctor's salary."

There are complaints (of course there are complaints. There are always complaints. You shoulda seen the service we got the other day on that flight to Houston!). Why should the plan finance *in vitro* fertilization? Why shouldn't the plan finance visits to psychiatrists? And so on.

The quarrel between Bush and Clinton should be over whether the Federal Government should chip in to help the 10 poorest states, or the 15 poorest states. At least we would be talking in realistic terms, and taking advantage of the fleeted flexibilities of a federal system. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE GIMLET EYE

The Poetry of Brand Names

THERE CAN be a poetry to proper nouns. Once, poets gave us names of exotic kings and distant lands. Think of Marlowe:

Is it not passing brave to be a king,
Techelles, Usumcasane, and
Theridamas?
Is it not passing brave to be a king
And ride in triumph through
Persepolis?

Or Milton:

Araxes, and the Caspian lake; thence
on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west.

Later, another kind of proper noun—the brand name—was exploited for purposes of art. In *Eugene Onegin*, Pushkin describes how time is told in the household of the Larins: *"Zheludok—verniy nash Breget."* Literally, this means: "The stomach is our accurate Breguet." Breguet was a celebrated French watchmaker (a firm by that name is still going strong); like Fabergé, his productions found favor with the Tsars, so that Pushkin could use the word as a synonym for timepiece. Unlike the reactionaries who opposed the introduction of foreign words into Russian, the great poet was in the import–export business.

By specifying Breguet (instead of writing generically that "The stomach is our truest timepiece") Pushkin plays on two lexical keyboards, and the French name evokes the small army of foreign artisans (Rastrelli, Falconet) who helped to build premeditated Petersburg, as well as all those language tutors and dancing masters sent Russia-wards by the French Revolution.

Or consider Pushkin's champagne. He enjoys specifying the *grandes marques* from Ay and Epernay and Reims, his favorites being Veuve Clicquot and Moët. It is easy to see why the latter, especially, should have attracted him, as it provided a ready rhyme for the Russian disyllable "po-et."

Later in the century, Baudelaire writes in *"Sed Non Satiata"*:

Je préfère à la constance, à
l'opium, aux nuits,
L'élixir de ta bouche où l'amour se
pavane.

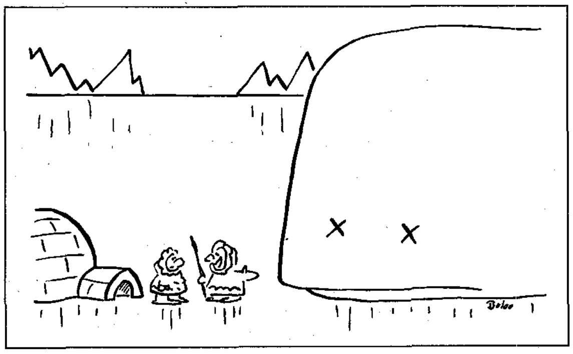
The *"nuits"* to which Baudelaire prefers the elixir of his mistress's lips are not nights of passion, but a famous burgundy, Nuits St Georges. If the poet had written: *"Je préfère à la constance, à l'opium, au vin,"* the simultaneous ambiguity (a wine, or nights of passion) and rich specificity (not any wine, but this particular wine) would have been lost.

Sometimes the distinction between brand and generic names is blurred. In his poem "January 1, 1923" Osip Mandelshtam writes: *"Gde-to shchelknyl Underwood."* ("Somewhere there clattered an Underwood.") So many typewriters in Russia early in this century were Underwoods that the brand became a generic name, and a good thing too for Mandelshtam, considering the awkwardness of the actual Russian for "typewriter"—*"pishushchaya mashina."*

Mayakovsky, in *"Leviy Marsh"* ("Left March"), one of his exercises in declamation, writes:

Tishe, oratory!
Vashe slovo, tovarishch mauzer.

(Be quiet, speakers!
Your turn, Comrade Mauzer.)



"Ta-DAA! My third-quarter earnings!"

Here "Mauzer" is not used generically like Mandelshtam's "Underwood." Mayakovsky anthropomorphizes the violence he celebrates ("Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun") in the persona of Comrade Mauzer.

Randall Jarrell in "Next Day" describes how a woman, feeling "commonplace and solitary," pushes her shopping cart along the supermarket aisle: "Moving from Cheer to Joy, from Joy to All." By enrolling these names of detergents in his poem (names that cascade over us, pledging and promising so much), Jarrell helps the victims of advertising to overcome their lexical oppression. For the woman narrator the names are used ironically, but they put a bounce in our step as we march down the same aisles.

Grace Paley's story "Enormous Changes at the Last Minute" begins: "Up early or late, the day gets away from me. I never get into my Rice Krispies till noon." The beauty of the beginning hinges on those Rice Krispies. Imagine if she had written: "I never get into my cereal till noon." "Cereal" could be virtuous Muesli or satanic Frosted Flakes. "Rice Krispies" sets the lonely, homely scene: the scruffy table, the room with no view, the narrator no doubt reading, at breakfast, the back of the cereal box on which the treacly trio of Snap, Crackle, and Pop are depicted.

NOWADAYS, some of our writers are one-trick ponies. "Price is wearing a six-button wool and silk suit by Ermenegildo Zegna, a cotton shirt with French cuffs by Ike Behar, a Ralph Lauren silk tie and leather wing tips by Fratelli Rossetti."

Bret Easton Ellis exploits the proper noun, not to stimulate the imagination ("Techelles, Usumcasane, and Theridamas") or to briskly evoke with a single word ("Breguet") the contrast between the French artisanry of St. Petersburg and the Russian backwater of that provincial miss, Tatiana Larina, but to show mere knowingness. We are not taken lands away, but simply to 57th and Madison, or Rodeo Drive. The poetry of brand names, from Pushkin's Breguet to Paley's Rice Krispies, is missing.

— PETER LUBIN

Mr. Lubin is a writer and editor at Bostonia *magazine.*

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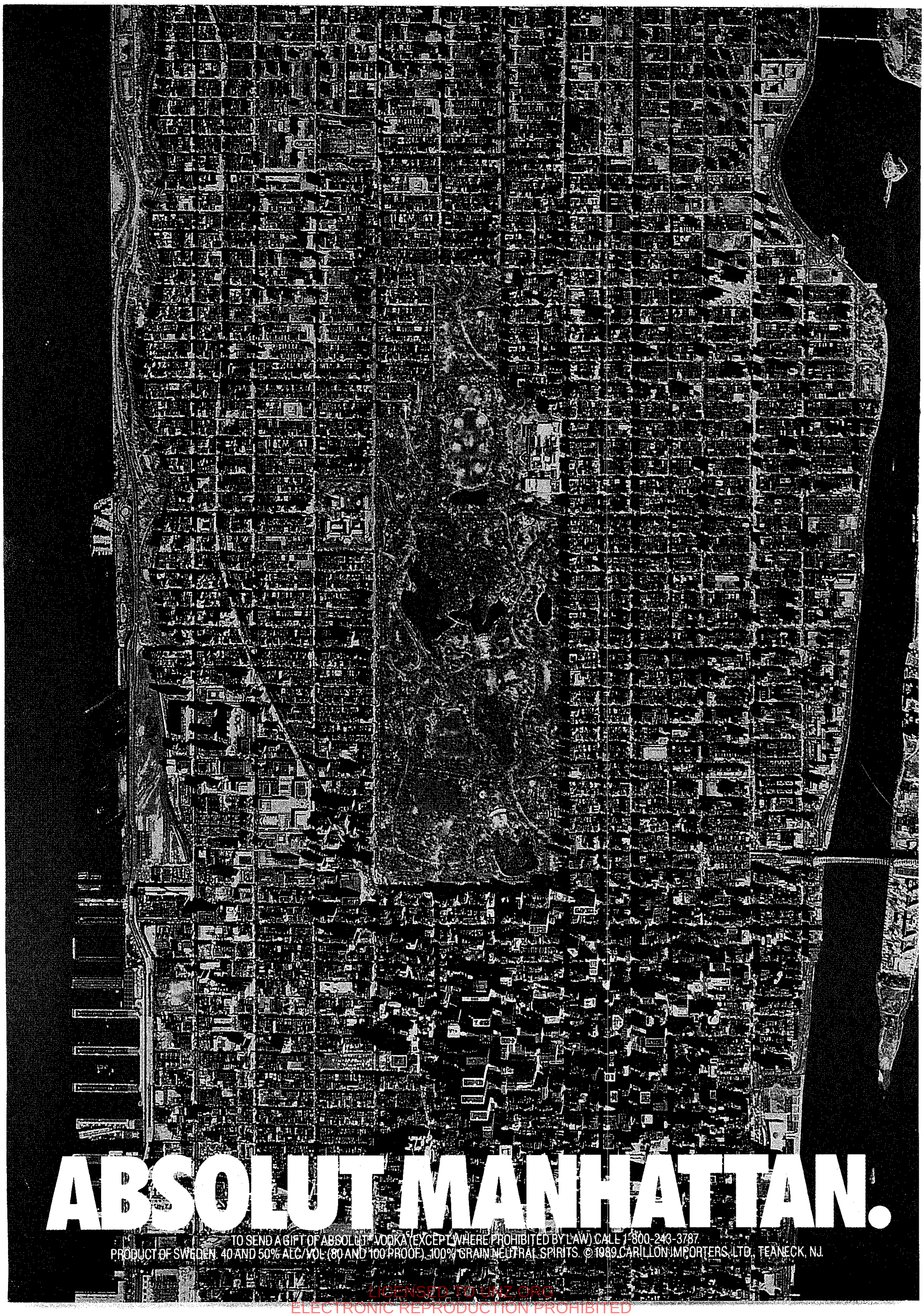

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